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THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LIX



THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LIX

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

The literary part of this volume comprises fragments of earlier Greek poetry, and of New Comedy. **3963–4**, edited by Dr M. L. West, are plausibly assigned to the burlesque *Margites*; **3965**, edited by Parsons, offers remains of elegiac poems by Simonides, notably one which described the campaign of Plataea. Of the seven papyri of comedy, **3967** edited by Dr Margaret Maehler and the rest by Professor Handley, four can be attributed certainly (**3967**) or plausibly to Menander.

In the documentary part, Section III comprises administrative documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods. **3973–3984**, edited by Dr J. E. G. Whitehorne, centre on the strategus: they illustrate his manifold bureaucratic functions, and as usual provide new details for the fasti. **3895–7**, edited by Professor Maehler, give a view of the appointment and functioning of officials in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Section IV, **3988–4008**, consists of private letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods. These were edited by Dr H. G. Ioannidou as a doctoral thesis at University College London under the supervision of Professor Maehler; they have been revised for publication by Rea. As usual, they cover a wide range of day-to-day business. We hear about the sale of non-laying pigeons (**3989**), the making of a doctor's instruments (**4001**), the building of a church (**4003**); a literate young man promises a lady sweetmeats (**3992**), a suspicious husband makes enquiries (**3994**), a friend offers condolences on the death of a wife — and moves straight on to business (**4004**). Commodities mentioned include cotton (**3991**), gold leaf (**3993**), soap (**3996?**) and weaver's combs (**4005**); lexical items of interest include *κάγγαθον* (**3997**), *καρταλάμιον* (**4006**) and the fish *σιμάριον* (**4008**). Two writers assume that their letters will be read aloud to an addressee (**3996**, **3997**): more evidence, perhaps, on the question of functional literacy.

Rea made the documentary indexes; for the indexing of the literary texts we are indebted to the skill and precision of Juliane Priwitzer. Once again we record our gratitude to our printers, Charlesworth & Co, who have set a difficult text with phenomenal accuracy.

May 1992

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
*General Editors*



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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$a\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
$[\alpha\beta\gamma]$	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
$[\dots]$	Approximately three letters are lost
( )	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ( $\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$ ) represents the symbol $\alpha\rho$ , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\zeta$
$\llbracket\alpha\beta\gamma\rrbracket$	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\prime}{\alpha\beta\gamma}$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle\alpha\beta\gamma\rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
$\{\alpha\beta\gamma\}$	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 3rd edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 4, 1985). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

# I. NEW POETIC TEXTS

## 3963. HOMER, *Margites*

71/3(c)

4.8 × 10.2 cm

Second century

A fragment with remains of twelve verses, written in a formal round hand. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 3.5 cm. There are some accents and punctuation. In line 2 the iota of *ωι* is added above the line.

This and **3964** were provisionally assigned by Lobel to the *Margites*, the burlesque poem supposedly composed by Homer. Metre, dialect, and what can be discerned of the subject matter are consistent with ascription to the *Margites*, and it is not easy to suggest even a theoretical alternative. A fragment of somewhat earlier date, XXII **2309**, was assigned to the poem on similar grounds, and is included in the edition of the fragments of the poem in my *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, ii.

*Metre.* Lines 3–4 and 6–9 appear to be the ends of iambic verses, no doubt trimeters. Lines 1–2 might be iambic, but 1, at least, looks much more like a dactylic hexameter, and 2 may well be. Hexameters and iambic trimeters in irregular alternation were characteristic of the *Margites*. Line 5 presents a problem which is discussed below.

*Dialect.* Ionic features are the masc. a-stem genitive in *-εω* (3), and contraction of *εο* and *εεο* to *ευ* (4, 6; if the text is archaic the original spelling was *εο*, and *ευ* represents a modernization).

*Subject matter.* It is not very clear what is going on, but it is a lively narrative (1–2) with a domestic setting (3, 7), involving a woman, perhaps a bride (4, 8). The story of Margites' marriage, we know, formed a part of the poem, perhaps the principal part; see fr. 4 and 4a(a) W. There is direct speech (6), something not hitherto attested for the *Margites* but in no way surprising.

	]υτικ' ανεδραμ[	α]υτίκ' άνέδραμ[
	]ω' ί' πεφοβημεν[	]ωι πεφοβημέν[
	] [έ] κυνοικέ. εω	] κυνοικέ <u>τω</u>
	] ξαλευμενη	έ] ξαλευμένη
5	] . τον	] . τον
	] τάτ' εμασκοπέυ[	] τά τ' έμὰ σκοπεύ
	] . ουςδομους	] . ους δόμους
	] εκαλυμενη .	κ]εκαλυμ<μ>ένη .
	] φασγανον	] φάσγανον
10	] επιω . (.) θε . σ [ ] [	] επιω . (.) θε . σ [ ]
	] [ ]	] [ ]
	] επο [ ] . [	] επο [ ] . [

3 The first letter was  $\epsilon$  or a blotched  $\varsigma$ , cancelled by a through-stroke and a dot above  
 5 ].: horizontal traces at letter-top height and on the line. One thinks first of  $\varsigma$ , but the top of  $\varsigma$  might be  
 expected to hook over more.  $\kappa$  or  $\pi$  may be possible 7 ].: a spot at the top left corner of the letter;  
 most plausibly  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\nu$  10  $\rho$ : less likely  $\varsigma$  or  $\omega$  Traces above and to the right of  $\rho$ , and a spot at  
 letter-top height midway between  $\rho$  and  $\theta$  After  $\theta\epsilon$  the foot of an upright, slightly turned out; it seems  
 rather far to the right for  $\iota$ .  $\eta$  conceivable but not attractive

1 Cf. *Margites* fr. 7. 8 f. ἀνόρουσε] λιπών ἄπο δέμνια ... ἐκ δ' ἔδραμεν ἕξω; *Il.* xvi 813 αὐτίς ἀνέδραμε.

3 Perhaps *divisim* cὸν οἰκέτεω, but more likely a single word. *συνοικέτης* seems to be attested hitherto  
 only in Hesych. *συνοικέται* σύνοικοι. In the present fragment the meaning is more probably 'fellow-slave'.

4 Ionic vocabulary. Cf. Archil. fr. 231 W. ἐξαλεύμενος, Semon. fr. 7. 61 ἀλευμένη.

5 I cannot read the letter before τον as  $\epsilon$ , and no other vowel comes into question. So not a trimeter-  
 end, as it stands, yet clearly too short for a hexameter. Perhaps the copyist left the line incomplete for some  
 reason.

6 Perhaps κα]τά. Anyway '... and examine my ...'. One thinks perforce of the episode in which  
 Margites' bride, to guide the idiot into intercourse, pretended that her vagina had (or was) a wound that  
 only a man's penis could heal (fr. 4). Lines 8-9 can be interpreted to suit this. But the line may well have  
 some quite other reference.

7 Perhaps just τοὺς δόμους.

8 κ]εκαλυμ<μ>ένη seems likelier than -ε καλ<ε>υμένη. A fifth-foot anapaest seems to have been admitted  
 in this poem (see the introduction to **3964**). But it did not necessarily occur here, as the verb may have  
 been compounded, e.g. ἀνα-, κατα-, προκ]εκαλυμμένη. If the suggestion made above is right, a reference to  
 uncovering may be suitable, e.g. τρήμ' ἀνακεκαλυμμένη.

9 Elevated language was evidently not confined to the hexameter lines. The 'sword' may perhaps be  
 a sexual metaphor, though it seems not to be a usual one in Greek; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New  
 Haven 1975), 122, cites Ar. *Lys.* 156 and 632 (neither a certain case), and otherwise only Hesych. s.v. κίφος  
 and two very late epigrams (*A.P.* 5. 238. 1, 9. 361. 5).

10 I cannot suggest a reading here, or determine whether the line was a hexameter or a trimeter.  
 ἐπιερθεῖς does not seem to fit the traces.

M. L. WEST

### 3964. HOMER, *Margites*

48 5B.30/K(4-5)a

8.6 × 14 cm

Second century

A very tattered fragment with the ends of eighteen verses written along the fibres  
 in a formal round hand of the second century. The upper margin is preserved to a  
 depth of 2.6 cm. There are occasional lectional signs (accents, diaeresis on initial  $\iota$   
 and  $\nu$ ) and punctuation (high point). In two instances the iota of the diphthong  $\eta\iota$   
 is added above the line.

On the ascription see the introduction to **3963**.

*Metre.* There can be no serious doubt that the lines were iambic trimeters and  
 dactylic hexameters. (Line 1 presents a problem which is discussed below.) In the  
 trimeters it looks as if an anapaest was admitted in the fifth foot (2, proper name? 15).  
 This is perhaps paralleled in Hipponax's scazons (fr. 25 W.), but not in Archilochus  
 or Semonides. Mute and liquid do not make position in 4 Ἀφροδίτης (epic scansion)  
 or 12 Ἡρακλ[ῆ]ς.



*Dialect.* Ionic features are -η(ι)αι (1, 6), if dative (if subjunctive, an epicism found occasionally in elegy but not otherwise in iambic verse, I think, until Herondas); psilosis perhaps at 2 (but not 12); εὐπινέως uncontracted in spelling (though contracted in pronunciation). The contracted form Ἡρακλ[ῆ]ς is noteworthy.

*Subject matter.* No continuous thread can be followed, but there are references to amorous concourse (2-3?, 4, 12-13), perhaps to a new marriage (11), and to music and dancing (14-15). In the commentary it is suggested that the fragment may come from near the end of the *Margites*.

	] .ωνγα . [ . ]υδεμηδενη'ι'τσιποικι . [	] .ων γὰρ [ο]ὐδὲ μηδενησι ποικίλ[
	] .εὐτελ . ηνιδων	] .εὐτελ . ην ιδών
	]νεγ . λσεσι	]νεγ ἄλσεσι
	]ςαφροδίτης	]ςς' Ἀφροδίτης
5	]νουκομηλικας	]νους ὀμήλικας
	]η'ι'αιεπινεως	]ησιαι εὐπινέως
	] .κομω [ ] .ας:	] .κομω [ ]ρας:
	]οις [ . . . ]ηθ . αιιν:	]οις [ . . . ]ηθ . αιιν:
	] . [ . ]κ . [ ] <sup>ρ</sup> ουσαι	] . [ . ]κ . [ ]ρουσαι
10	] . ανου [ ] . .	]φανου [ ] . .
	]νεονγαμ [ . . ]βι [ . . ]ι .	]νέον γαμ [ . . ]βι [ . . ]ι .
	]ςωκοθηρακλ [ . ] .	]ς ὡς ὄθ' Ἡρακλ[ῆ]ς
	]ωτονεμιχ [ . ]η [ ]	πρ]ώτον ἐμίχ[θ]η [ . ]
	]λεμμα [ . . ]ς [ . . ]ποσι	]λεμμα [ . . ]ς [ . . ]ποσί
15	]ὑποπηκτιδος:	] ὑπὸ πηκτίδος:
	]οδιουφως:	]οδιουφως:
	] . π [ . ( . ) ]λεον	] . π [ . ( . ) ]λεον
	]κων [ . . ( . ) ]ο:	]κων [ . . ( . ) ]ο:

- 1 Stray ink above ων After α the trace of an upright letter and a spot at letter-top height; then the top of an oblique stroke and most of an upright, perhaps to be combined as ν 2 After λ a low trace of a rounded letter and a spot at letter-top height; then the top of an oblique stroke and most of an upright, perhaps to be combined as ν 3 After ν the left corner of a triangular letter 4 Of ]ς only the lower tip 7 Before κ a spot at ground level Before α the right side of a small bow; ρ is likely, though some spots of ink are not accounted for The high point after ας may be illusory 8 After θ the top of ε or ο 9 After κ the upper left extremity of a letter, perhaps ν or υ 10 Before α the right side of a circle: ο or φ rather than θ At end, three low traces close together 11 The peninsula carrying ]νεονγαμ[ can perhaps be manoeuvred a little further to the right, but I think not far enough to combine the letters as γαμβρ[ ] . ; the end of a horizontal bar and below it a thick spot as of a diagonal from left; perhaps ε or κ, scarcely τ After ι a flat base. No subsequent letters, apparently 12 Above the first ]ς an indistinct trace 14 ]λ: or α, δ ]ς[: or ο, ω If ω, only one letter lost before ποσι 15 Over ν two unaligned dots, I suppose intended for a diaeresis 16 Of δ the left corner and top; of ι the top 17 ] . : the foot of an upright 18 κω doubtful, and so is the high point

1 Trace and space do not suit γάμ[ο]ν δέ, so presumably γὰρ [ο]ὔδέ. Then one thinks of μηδὲν ἦιαι (εἰμί) or ἦιαι (ἦμι), or conceivably μηδ' ἐνῆιαι (ἔνειμι or ἐνίημι), or ἐνηιαι ('not even on the first day of the month'), as -η(ι)αι as a subjunctive ending is unexpected in iambus (see introduction). The syntax is obscure, and the line extends much too far to the right, even if οὔδέ or μηδέ(ν) is eliminated as a dittography. Something must have gone wrong here or in the preceding part of the line. Possibly two lines have become conflated.

2 Perhaps εὐτ' Ἐλέγην ἰδών, in a comparison of Margites' reaction to that of Paris or Menelaus when he first saw Helen. Cf. 12 f., and Ar. *Lys.* 155 f.

3 -νεν or -ν( ) ἐν ἄλσει.

4 ]ς if rightly read may be a verb ending -cc', but there are other possibilities. Ἀφροδίτης, at the end of a hexameter, seems rather far from ἄλσει to be likely to depend on it directly; but ἄλλος Ἀφροδίτης appears as a sexual metaphor in anonymous hexameters ap. Hippol. *Ref.* 5. 8.

5 Perhaps παρθέ]νους.

6 εὐπνέως 'cleanly'. εὐπνής and δυσπνής are otherwise first attested in Attic literature of the late fifth century. -ηισιν may again be either a dative or a verbal ending.

7 I suspect ἄλ]ακομάρας, not necessarily applied to dogs; cf. the non-canine uses of ὑλακτέω, μαψυλάκας, and also Semon. fr. 7. 12-15. Three-trimination declension of compound adjectives is more frequent in poetic language than in prose; see Lobeck, *Paralipomena*, 455-98.

8 Dative plural either of a perfect participle (γεγηθόσιν, λεληθόσιν, πεπληθόσιν) or of a noun or adjective in ]ηθεσιν (ἐν στήθεσιν, συνήθεσιν, etc.).

10 φᾶνοῦ 'torch' is one among many possibilities. Cf. *Margites* fr. 7. 13 φανί(ον).

11 νέον γάμ[ον]? Assuming that νέον represents the fourth foot, there can only be two syllables after γάμ[ον], so presumably not βί[ ] but βρ[ ]. E.g. βρ[αχ]εῖ[ ]. The sense might be that Margites, after being successfully initiated through his wife's stratagem (see above on 3963 6), now consummated his new marriage in a short space of time (βραχεῖ| χρόνῳ ...).

12 f. Margites is comically compared to Heracles in fullest vigour making love for the first time to one of his regular partners. For πρ]ώτον cf. *Il.* xiv 295 οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμυγέσθην φιλότῃτι, and for the comic comparison to Heracles, Lucilius, *A.P.* 11. 95. The most appropriate of Heracles' partners here would be the most desirable, so perhaps Ἥβη καλλικόμῳ ῥοδοπήχει or the like.

14 μα[ . ]ς[ . . ] must correspond to the fifth foot of the iambic trimeter. E.g. ]δ' ἐμμα[πέ]ω[ς] ποί. The reference may be to dancing outside the bridal chamber by the pannychizing παρθένου ὀμήλικες (cf. 5); cf. Sappho fr. 30.

15 '... to the accompaniment of a harp'. πηκτίς is otherwise first attested in Sappho and Alcaeus (as πᾶκτις). In Greek literature and art generally, harps appear in contexts of love and pleasure, in the banqueting-room or the boudoir, and in the classical period their players are usually women.

16 Contracted φῶς would be unexpected, yet it seems less unlikely than φῶς 'man'. I should be happier with π]οδῖ <κ>ούφωσ, but I see no room for the kappa.

17 Possibly ἀ]ρπ[α]λέον.

18 If ]κων[ is right, perhaps a genitive (e.g. κα]κῶν) followed by [ῥπ]ο or [ᾶπ]ο. 'A happy outcome after misfortunes'?

If the interpretations suggested above are on the right lines, one may speculate that the author, after recounting Margites' ludicrous misadventures, brought his poem to a conclusion with this scene of sexual triumph and general festivity, somewhat in the manner of an Aristophanic comedy.

M. L. WEST

### 3965. SIMONIDES, *Elegies*

No inventory number

fr. 1 5.7 × 7.7 cm

Second century

Mr Lobel assembled these fragments, the 'unpublished manuscript' referred to in P. Turner 3(ε). He left a transcript, and some notes towards a commentary, to which I am greatly indebted.



The writing runs with the fibres; the back is blank. Upper margin at least 3.7 cm (fr. 3), lower margin at least 1.5 cm (fr. 6); an intercolumnium of at least 1.2 cm survives on fr. 21. Sheet-joins appear on fr. 2, 12, 18, 20, 21, 23 (?), 42, but we have no direct evidence of the width of the sheets.

The column had at least 24 lines (fr. 2, 19); since that represents only 11.5 cm of papyrus, the original height may have been substantially greater (see p. 33).

The scribe wrote a small, neat, upright script, assignable to the second century. Mr Lobel observed a likeness with the hand which copied the commentaries XXI **2306** on Alcaeus, XXIII **2368** on Bacchylides, and perhaps also XXXV **2742** on Old Comedy. The hand of **3965** aims at a more stylised manner (ligature generally avoided). But he shows himself slipshod in the execution. There are inconsistencies in the shapes of letters (thus  $\pi$  with the right side straight or curved), in the ductus (e.g.  $\nu$  sometimes as a shallow bowl with stem added below, sometimes in a single movement with a loop at the top right), and in the ornament (the stem of  $\tau$  sometimes bare, sometimes serifed to the left, occasionally hooked to the right); inconsistencies also in the letter-widths and letter-spacing. All this makes the identifying of traces, and the estimating of lacunas, more than usually uncertain.

Lectional apparatus includes: accents (acute commonly; circumflex fr. 25. 12; grave 8. 3?, 20. 6?); rough breathing fr. 2. 16, 36. 2; diaeresis fr. 2. 3, 20. 5, 25. 3?, 26. 18?; longum fr. 25. 2. Punctuation by high stop; low stop fr. 2. 4, *diastole* fr. 1. 3, double oblique fr. 2. 19 (see note), 11. 9, 18. 10 and 11. Elision is marked at fr. 1. 13, 2. 12, 11. 9, 26. 10, 14, unmarked (unless damage has removed the sign) at fr. 26. 5, 6, 8; no clear example of *scriptio plena*. Iota adscript is written at fr. 2. 10 and 18?, 26. 16 and 17; no clear example of omission.

The main hand seems to have been responsible for all or most of the lectional signs. He also entered a number of suprascript corrections or variants; others are the work of a second hand, a thinner pen writing more cursorily, which also added a few marginal notes. These notes, like those in **2327**, refer to the scholars Apion (fr. 2. 11; 20. 8, 10) and Ni(canor) (fr. 2. 11).

For the text, Mr Lobel noted two sets of coincidences: (i) fr. 5 overlaps Simonides fr. eleg. 11 West, which Plutarch cites *Σιμωνίδου ... γράφωντος*; fr. 26 overlaps Simonides fr. eleg. 8. 8–13 West, quoted by Stobaeus with the heading *Σιμωνίδου*. Some scholars have ascribed the latter to Semonides of Amorgos. About the former, we have no reason to doubt. (ii) Fr. 1. 1–6 overlaps **2327** fr. 6, and fr. 27 overlaps **2327** fr. 3–4. Add to that the likelihood, argued below, that fr. 1. 9 ff. contains the same lines as **2327** fr. 27 i. Prima facie, then, **2327** and **3965** are two copies of the same book, and that book contained poems of Simonides. There is a remoter possibility, that we have here not the substantive Simonides (i.e. a book from the Alexandrian edition), but an anthology including poems of his, or even two anthologies. But the latter would be a remarkably malign coincidence; and I discount the former, because fr. 1 and 2 contained a narrative of substantial length, and many fragments show scholarly annotation.

We may therefore assume that both papyri represent the same 'book' of Simonides. It follows that any fragment of one of them may contain lines represented in any fragment of the other. More collocations must be looked for. But we have to remember that, on any normal assumption about the length of a 'book', neither papyrus offers more than (say) 10% of the contents of the original roll.

This 'book' consisted, so far as our fragments go, of elegiac verse. The variety of subject suggests a series of separate poems. The coronis entered in the upper margin below **2327** fr. 7. 2 confirms this; and it is certainly tempting to recognise a first line in **2327** fr. 1 + 2(a) i. 3, and perhaps a transition between poems in **3965** fr. 26. 12-3.

We know nothing about the book-divisions of the (presumed) Alexandrian edition of Simonides. The garbled notice in the Suda (IV 361. 10 ff.; see West, *IEG* II p. 112) says only: γέγραπται αὐτῷ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ἢ Καμβύσου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεία καὶ Ξέρξου ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία [v. om. G] δι' ἐλεγείας· ἡ δ' ἐν Καλαμῖνι μελικῶς· θρήνοι, ἐγκώμια, ἐπιγράμματα, παιάνες καὶ τραγωδίαι [-ία A cp. V] καὶ ἄλλα. Elsewhere we hear of a possible ἐλεγείον on Marathon (*Vita Aeschyli* 8); scraps are quoted ἐκ τῶν ἐλεγείων (fr. 9 W) and ἐπιγραμμάτων (fr. 13 W, cf. fr. 6 W); quotations in elegiacs cover a variety of topics, convivial (fr. 4-5 W), moralising (fr. 8 W) and political (fr. 10-11 W, the Corinthians at the Battle of Plataea).

The contents of **2327** + **3965** in part overlap these hints, and confirm that Simonides' works included a collection of substantial elegiac poems:

(1) *The Battle of Plataea*. **3965** fr. 1 + 2 + **2327** fr. 6 and 27 i: a hymn to Achilles, and a salute to Homer, lead to an invocation of the Muse, and that to a narrative of the Spartan march and the mustering of the allies at Eleusis. In **2327** fr. 27 ii Persians and Dorians meet on a plain; in **3965** fr. 5 (overlapping fr. 11 W) the Corinthians fight valiantly. Add perhaps **3965** fr. 21. Other scraps might belong to this, or to other battle-scenes (**3965** fr. 10, 13, 18, 19; **2327** fr. 5, 19). The main portions would occupy at least 50-60 lines; given the leisurely pace of fr. 2, and assuming that others besides the Corinthians got their meed of praise, the whole piece must surely have reached at least 100 lines. Structurally, it presents the old form of Hymn and Epic in miniature and in elegiacs. Historically, it represents a witness to the campaign a generation earlier than Herodotus. The date can be fixed in relation to Simonides' death (traditionally 468/7); Pausanias still has a place of honour. The occasion can only be guessed at: a public commission (for the Eleutheria?) is one possibility.

(2) *The Battle of Artemisium?* Fr. 20, which probably refers to Kalais, would fit neatly in the preliminaries of the battle. Fr. 12 may belong; so might **2327** fr. 31 ii. Two sources mention ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία among Simonides' works: the Suda (δι' ἐλεγείας) and Priscian (lyric snippets, *PMG* 533). Scholars have normally thought the Suda wrong. **3965** now confirms an elegiac poem. If Priscian is right, the busy poet celebrated (or mentioned) the same victory twice.

(3) *Youth and age*. Fr. 26 overlaps the famous quotation fr. 8 W. The new context shows that lines 1-5 of the quotation did not originally belong.

(4) *Fantastic journey?* Fr. 27 + **2327** fr. 1–2 col. ii, 3, 4. The content is very conjectural: a journey, an island, a symposium. One possible outline: the poet longs to escape (from old age?) to an Elysian *εὐωχία* of love and song. If **2327** fr. 1–2 col. i (Adesp. Eleg. 28 W) begins the same poem, the contrast of age and youth, and perhaps the erotic note, are reinforced; and this poem too ran to some length (at least 40 lines).

(5) Other scraps too suggest a *symptotic context*: fr. 3 the charming boy?, 4 mixing wine?, 14 dance??. 23 crowns and song?, 25 laughter, charm and the donkey.

**2327** has been re-edited by Professor M. L. West in *Iambi et Elegi Graeci II* (ed. 1, 1972) as Adesp. Eleg. 28–60 (with notes in *Studies in Greek Elegy & Iambus* (1974) 167f). Fragments of Simonides are cited here by the numeration of that first edition; the forthcoming second edition will include **3965**, and renumber other fragments accordingly.

I am grateful to Dr R. A. Coles, who advised on fibres and sheet-joints; to the members of seminars in Berkeley and Oxford which discussed parts of the text, notably Professor R. L. Fowler, Dr G. O. Hutchinson and Professor D. M. Lewis; and above all to Professor M. L. West, who purged my draft of many mistakes, and contributed the many readings, supplements and interpretations marked 'MLW'.

## Fr. 1

]ξεονξ[ ]στ[  
 ] . αμουπαισιχ[ ]ομ[  
 ] . δρ . ιοκακοφρ[ ]ς,ως . . . [ .  
 ] . θειησαρμα . αθειλεδ . . [ .  
 5 ]υπερσαντεσαοιδιμον[  
 ]ωω . αγέμ'άχοιδαναόι[  
 ] . ατονκεχυταικλεοσα . [ .  
 ]λοκαμωνδεξατοπιεριδ[  
 ]θειην· καιεπωνυμονο . [ .  
 10 ] . θεωνωκυμοροργενε . [ .  
 ]ννυχαιρεθεασερικυ[  
 ] . λιουνηρεος· αυταρεγ . [ .  
 ]ς' επικουρονεμοι . [ .

## Fr. 2

(a) ]θρωπω[ ] . ευχομενω[  
 ] . . καιτουδ[ 15 ] . φρονακ[  
 ] . ρησινατις[ ] . . . . . [ .  
 ]γ . οισπαρτ[ . . . . . ] .  
 5 ]α . υν[ ] . . [ (b) ]ω[  
 ] . ησελαθ[ ]γουρανο . [ .  
 ] . θρω . ω . [ ] . . αθανατο [ .  
 ] . φτανκα[ ]σατυλιποντ[ .  
 ]ζηνοςπα . ρισυνιποδαμοις [ .  
 10 ] . σηρωσικα[τ] ευρυβηγιμενελαω[  
 ] . ώιησηγεμονεσπ[ . ] . εὐς<sup>ω</sup> N<sup>α</sup> [ .  
 ] . [ ]φ . ου . [ ] . [ ]γ' αριστ[ (c) ] . . [ .  
 ]α . . παυσανίης<sup>α</sup>  
 ] . καιεπικλεαεργακοριν[ ]ου  
 15 ] . ανταλιδεωπελοπος [ ]  
 ] . ζουπολιν· ενθαπερ· ώ[  
 ] . υλαπερικτιονων [ .  
 ] . ρι . εποιθοτ . . οιδ[ ]ξευγ[  
 ] . [ ] . τ . υπεδιον'  
 20 ]δι . νοσεξε[ ]ντε . [ .  
 ] . . οσαν . . θε . [ ] . [ .  
 ] . σδαμασαν . [ .  
 ] . . ειδομεν[  
 ]νυμονα . [ .

## Fr. 1 + 2327 fr. 6

	]ος λαο. [			
	]οκλου. . [			
	]μασσεινε. [			
	]ωνος χειρι [			
	]σειουσαπ. [ ]στ [	5	(1)	
	- υ υ - Πρ]ιάμου παισι χ[. . . ]ομ [			
	- υ ] Αλεξά]νδροιο κακόφρ[ονο]ς ως . . . [			2327 fr. 27
	- υ υ ] . θείης ἄρμα καθεῖλε δίκ[η(-)	col. i		col. ii
	- υ υ - ]ν πέρσαντες αἰοίδιμον [οἴκαδ' ἴ]κοντο		(5)	
	- υ υ - Τρ]ώων ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοί [	10		
	- υ υ ἀθά]γατον κέχυται κλέος ἀν[δρὸς] ἔκητι			
	- υ υ - π]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων			
	- υ υ - ]θείην, καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὄπ[λοτέρ]οισιν			
	- υ υ ἡμ]ιθέων ὠκύμορον γενεά[ν	(10)		]θεα [ 6
	- υ υ - ]ν νυν χαίρε θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ	15		]ρεμ [
	- υ υ - ]αλίου Νηρέος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ			]πτο [
	- υ υ - ]ς' ἐπίκουρον ἐμοὶ [. . . . .]ε Μοῦσα			]ετερη [
Fr. 2	]θρωπω [ ] . εὐχομένω [			]κουφ [ 10
	] . . καιτονδ [ ] . φρονακ[. . . . .] . δης	(15)		θ [ ]πτολε [
(20)	] . ρησῖνατις [ ] . . . . . [ ]	20		τ. λ [ ]αρα [
	]γ. οισπαρτ [ ]αρ			ᾠφρ' ἀπὸ μὲν Μήδ[ων
5	]α. υν [ ] . . [ ]ω [ ]			καὶ Περσῶν, Δώρου δ [
	] . ησελαθ [ ]νουρανο. [ ] . c			παισι καὶ Ἡρακλέος [ 15
	] . θρω. ω. [ ] . . αθανατο [ ]			. . ]δ' ἐπεὶ ἐς πεδῖον [
(25)	- υ υ Εὐ]ρώταν κα[ὶ Σπάρτη]ς ἄστυ λιπόντ [ ]	25		εἴ]ζωποὶ δέφ[. ]νε. [
	- υ υ - ] Ζηγὸς παισι σὺν ἵπποδάμοις			]ρεστε [ ] . ντ [
10	- υ υ - ] . c ἦρωσι καὶ εὐρυβίηι Μενελάω [ι			
	- υ υ - ] . ώιης ἡγεμόνες π[ό]λεως			
	] . [ ]ο. ου. [ ] . [ ]γ' ἀριστ [ ] . . [			
(30)	- υ υ - υ υ - - ]α. . Παυσανίας			
	- υ υ - υ υ - ] . καὶ ἐπικλέα ἔργα Κορίν[θ]ου			
15	- υ υ - υ υ - ] Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος			
	] . σου πόλιν, ἔνθαπερ ὦ [			
	- υ υ - υ υ - ] φύλα περικτιόνων			
(35)	- υ υ - υ υ - ]ισι πεποιθότες οἱ δὲ σὺν [ - -			
	] . [ ] . τον πεδῖον			
20	]διονος εξε[. . . ]ντες			
	] . . οσαν . θε. [ ] . [			
	] . cδαμασαν. [			
(40)	] . . ειδομεν [			
	]νυμονα. [			



## Fr. 1

1 ] $\zeta$ ,  $\chi$  not excluded  $\zeta$  [, above  $c$ , thick rising oblique with junction to right, perhaps part of angular  $a$ , then level with the tops of letters a wavering horizontal and a thick dot, perhaps part of the same ] $\zeta$ , the lower curve abnormally extended;  $\kappa$  not excluded? 2 ]., high point of ink, broken to left and below Of  $\chi$ , only the left-hand elements 3 ]., dot at mid-height, then upper part of upright  $\zeta$ , hole, speck on left edge at two-thirds height, another to right level with letter-tops  $\omega\zeta$  . . . , of  $\zeta$  the back and lower curve (no trace of cross-bar), then small traces on a single fibre at line-level, first, dot (foot of upright?), second curving (base of  $\epsilon$ ,  $c$ ? not  $o$ , since it does not continue upwards?), third perhaps end of oblique descending from right to left 4 ]., foot of upright  $a$ ., two dots low down, one joining tail of  $a$   $\delta$  . . [, top of upright, top of upright sloping towards the left 6  $\omega$  . , top of oblique descending from left to right, and top of upright cutting it, possibly more traces (upright?) on the edge before  $a$  (together,  $\nu$ ?)  $aoi$  [, foot of  $i$  joins oblique sloping down to left, anomalous serif? diastole (cf. 3)? 7 ]., foot of descending oblique joins foot of upright,  $\nu$ ?  $\kappa\lambda\epsilon o c$ , top of  $c$  doubled, so that it looks like a malformed  $\epsilon$  (the extra ink too wide to be a stop)  $a$  [, upright, junction at top with apparent oblique descending to right,  $\nu$ ? 9 . [, upright, junction at top with horizontal or oblique extending to right. 10 ]., ink towards top of line, perhaps sloping down from left to right (but perhaps thick upright given oblique profile by damage) . [, high trace curving gently upwards to left 12 ]., foot of oblique descending from left to right . [, perhaps high (curved?) trace joining cross-bar of  $\gamma$  13 . [, probably  $\pi$  ( $\gamma\epsilon$  not excluded?) 14 ]., top of upright 15 ]., top of upright 16 ] . . . . . [, second, top of circle ( $\epsilon$ ,  $c$  etc.); third, part of high horizontal; fourth, oblique top as of  $\lambda$  etc; fifth, upper part of  $\lambda$  or the like; sixth, high oblique, e.g. left branch of  $\nu$

## Fr. 2

Two smaller fragments are joined to the main piece (*b*) on the basis of the fibres: (*a*) (beginnings of 1-7) joined after the first curve of omega in 7 ] .  $\theta\rho\omega$ ; (*c*) provides marginal ink to right of 12, and ] $\rho\nu$  in 14 Sheet-join to far right of 8-10, cutting  $\nu$  of  $\lambda\iota\pi\omega\nu\tau$  [ in 9 2 ] . . , probably  $\nu$ , the lower part of the oblique lost in damage; if  $\kappa i$ , the lower branch of  $\kappa$  unusually short? 3 ] . , ink (perhaps right-hand end of horizontal) at two-thirds height  $\bar{\nu}$ , after  $\nu$  extra ink (damaged down-hook on the second upright?)  $\zeta$ , left-hand arc of circle on the edge 4  $c\pi$ ,  $c$  overwritten on  $\gamma$ ? 5  $a$  . , apex as of  $\lambda$ , more ink to right; if one letter,  $\mu$  ] . . [, point at line-level, slightly concave upright ] $\omega$  [, only lower part of loops, but  $\mu$  less likely 6 ] . ,  $\gamma$  or right-hand side of  $\tau$  . [, ink at line-level, part of oblique rising from left to right, perhaps trace of junction at top right? 7 ] . , two points level with letter-tops  $\omega$ , the initial curve on one fragment, dots at line-level on the other .  $\omega$  . , first, point of ink at line-level, then foot of upright; second, ink at line-level ] . . , 'dot on line, followed by lower part of upright with foot hooked to right' Lobel, the former in fact a short horizontal as from the base of  $\epsilon$  etc., the second stands so close that  $i$  or  $\rho$  is suggested, more likely  $\rho$ ?  $\tau o$ , then a ragged sheet-join; the new surface may be a little damaged, but enough top fibres remain to show traces of a written letter, unless it was very small 8 ] . , foot of upright a little below line-level 9  $a$  . , ink (foot of upright?) at one-third height 10 ] . , upright on the edge 11 ] . , ink at mid-height on edge ] . . , oblique back as of  $a \delta \lambda$  12 ] . [, oblique trace at line-level; possibly more ink before, on disturbed fibres  $\rho$  . , foot of upright  $\nu$  . [, first,  $c$  or lower part of  $\epsilon$ ; then seemingly undamaged surface, but ink must be lost; then flat trace at line-level ] $\gamma$ ,  $\tau$  not quite excluded? 13 ] $a$  . . , flat strokes level with tops of letters, first with traces of upright below, i.e.  $\gamma$ , or  $\tau$  (if a shadowy trace to left, touching top of  $a$ , belongs); then horizontal trace at half-height, cutting upright trace and perhaps extending to join the top of  $\pi$  14 ] . , trace at mid-height 15 ] . , horizontal level with letter-tops, remains of upright below,  $\tau$  rather than  $\gamma$ ,  $\pi$  16 ] . , point of ink at line-level? 17 ] . , horizontal at mid-height, above, flattened oblique descending to join it? 18 ] . , top of upright  $\epsilon$ , confused traces, one a horizontal level with letter-tops  $\tau$  . . , of  $\tau$  only parts of the cross-bar, and the foot; then trace level with letter-tops, then perhaps parts of left-hand arc ( $c$ ?) and emphatic point (tip of  $c$ ? high stop?) 19 ] . [, trace below line-level on projecting fibres; second, oblique back as of  $a$  etc.  $\tau$  . , perhaps parts of a small loop, i.e.  $o$  20  $i$  . , trace at mid-height, space allows only a narrow letter . [, lower left-hand arc 21 ] . . , right-hand end of thick horizontal, or parts of upper arc, level with letter-tops; then probably  $\pi$ , the right upright damaged  $\nu$  . . , trace at two thirds height (left-hand end of horizontal?); lower part of upright, hooked to the right?  $\epsilon$  . [, parts of small loop ( $o$ )? then, well to right, remains suggesting top and lower left of a left-hand arc 22 ] . , dot level with letter-tops . [, left-hand end of high horizontal ( $\pi$ ,  $\tau$ ) 23 ] . . , anomalous traces (like parts of a coarse  $\phi$ ), then foot of upright ( $i$ ?) 24 . [, dot on edge at two-thirds height

Fr. 3	Fr. 4
top	
] . αστεραα . ν[	] . . . . [
] . αστεραα . ν[	] . . . . [
] . αστεραα . ν[	] . . . . [
] . αστεραα . ν[	] . . . . [
] . αστεραα . ν[	] . . . . [
5 ] . αστεραα . ν[	5 ] . . . . [
] . αστεραα . ν[	] . . . . [
] . αστεραα . ν[	] . . . . [

## Fr. 3

1 ] ., point of ink on the edge, level with tops of letters ( $\gamma \epsilon \zeta \kappa \xi \pi \sigma \tau \upsilon \phi \chi$ ) α . ν[ , Mr Lobel saw λ (unmetrical) rather than α; but the microscope shows a doubling of the ink at the lower left extremity, with damaged surface above, suggesting an alpha of the narrow pointed type; after that, a doubtful high point of ink on damaged surface, the damage apparently occupies a relatively narrow vertical space, which would hold ι or ρ 2 ν . . [ , foot of upright hooked to right, two more points of which the lower might complete the hook (which must then be quite marked); to right, single trace (of upright?) on projecting fibres Perhaps only one letter 4 αλλ . [ , or perhaps αμ . [ , but a slight thickening of the ink halfway along the bow may suggest two letters touching, rather than one; at the end, high ink most like the left-hand arc of a circle high in the line 5 ]αδ , after delta a high broken trace, oddly shaped for an elision mark, perhaps accidental ν . [ , upright with a junction at top, foot hooked sharply to right: ε rather than ν? 6 ] ., top of upright Above θ[ , a filled-in circle which looks most like a coarser θ

## Fr. 4

1 ] . . . . [ , first, dot at line-level, well in from the beginning, then foot of upright nearly touching it, i.e. ] . i? or simply upright with broken oblique serif to left? third, ε or lower part of ε; fourth, foot of upright 2 . [ , upright trace in upper part of line, joining horizontal or flattened arc descending to right 4 . [ , top of upright, possible signs of junction below top (ε?) 5 ] . [ ] . [ , first, apparently upper branches of χ (extra ink on right-hand branch might be top of following upright, but not necessarily, cf. χ in fr. 1. 11 χαίρε); after an interval, short horizontal at two-thirds height

## Fr. 5 + fr. 10-11 West

μέσσοις δ' οἷ τ' Ἐφύρην πολυπίδακα ναιετάοντες,  
παντοίης ἀρετῆς ἴδριες ἐν πολέμῳ,  
οἷ τε πόλιν Γλαύκοιο Κορίνθιον ἄστρῳ νέμοντες

## Fr. 5

] . αιθερ[  
] . δ . . [  
] πολυ[

< > κάλλιστον μάρτυν ἔθεντο πόνων,  
χρυσοῦ τιμήεντος ἐν αἰθέρι· καὶ σφιν ἀέξει  
αὐτῶν τ' εὐρείαν κληθόγλα καὶ πατέρων  
] πολυ[

## Fr. 5

1 ] ., foot of upright with junction to left, ν acceptable 2 ] . δ . . [ , first, probably cross-bar and right-hand side of η; second, perhaps upper right-hand arc of small circle; third, short horizontal trace at upper level 3 ] πολυ[ , of π the top, part of the left-hand junction, and the right-hand side with a rather messy join (so rather than γ (or the like) ε Lobel); of υ the left hand branch (ν Lobel, but the stroke extends too far to the left)

Fr. 6	Fr. 7	Fr. 8
]. [	]. [	]. τε [
]. ου [	]. . . . [	] ωμεν . [
]. ω . [	] βαρβ . [	] ανουσα [
] πρ . [	] του . [	] ντέστ [
foot	5 ] κξ [ ] ρ . [	5 ] . ονυσογ [
	] δι . [	

## Fr. 6

2 ]., γ or right-hand side of τ      3 ].ω. [, first, high horizontal, part of upright below, γ or right-hand side of τ?; second, probably left-hand junction of ν (angle too sharp for ε)      4 ]. [, sloping trace, or part of left-hand arc, at half-height (of vowels, ο, ω)

## Fr. 7

2 ]. . . . [, first, probably right-hand angle of δ; second, upright not extending below line-level, some thickening at top; third, elements of ω?; fourth, perhaps upright with junction at top?      3 ]. [, traces on edge, remains of upright? (i.e. ι rather than α, whose oblique top ought to show on preserved fibres higher up?)      4 ]. [, trace at line-level, and another well above the letter-tops      5 ]. [, left-hand angle as of δ, ζ (too sharp for α, too low for φ?)      6 ]. [, π? or γ.?

## Fr. 8

1 ]., perhaps upper right-hand arc in the upper part of the line (ο, ω?) excluded?      2 ]., γ, π? ν not excluded?      3 ά [, a mark like a grave accent, but curiously short and stubby      5 ]., slightly convex upright on the edge      Of ν [, the left-hand junction and part of the oblique

Fr. 9	Fr. 10	Fr. 11
]. [ ] . [	] ε . [	] επ [
] ωγαρμε [	] ελπιδ [	]. . [ . . ] [
] αρωτε . [	] ντ . . [	]. . [ ] μεν . [
] ηνητ . [	]. μαχη [	] ελεταν [
5 ] ων .	5 ] . ωγκα . ο [	5 ] αιε . οφορ [
] ποις τ [	] ουδεμ . [	stripped
	]. . κυδ . [	stripped
		]. νος . [
		] δραπλη . . 'α . [
		10 ] . επεσιγ [
		]. . νο . [
		]. . . [

## Fr. 9

1 ]. [ ] . [, second, foot of long descender      3 ] α, λ not excluded?      ]. [, high point on the edge  
4 ]. [, top of small loop (ο, ρ)



## Fr. 10

1 .[, upright, damage to top right      3 . .[, foot of upright (spacing may suggest ι); lower arc of circle at line-level (ε θ ο c ω)?      4 ] ., foot of upright (if a short vowel, ι)      5 ] ., point at line-level (foot of descending oblique rather than upright?)      Of ν, left and right elements (hardly .ι)      κ α. ο[, apparently λ with the left-hand branch blotted (or altered from α?)      6 .[, lower left-hand arc (of vowels, ε, perhaps ω; too low for ο?)      7 ] ., ink level with letter-tops; then flattened top arc (ε, c?)      δ .[, dot at line-level on under-fibres, then oblique top as of α etc.

## Fr. 11

2 ] ., foot of upright; lower arc of narrow circle      Short line (pent.)      3 ] . .[, top junction of λ etc. (but concave?); then apparently elements of ν; then space for narrow letter, set high (no ink shows below the hole)      .[, doubtful trace on the edge at mid-height      5 ε ., high horizontal, point of ink below at line-level (γ? or τ, for the spacing of the stem cf. 4 ετ?)      8 ] ., point on line, then point at mid-height (of short vowels, ε most likely, ο possible?)      9 ] δ ρ α, above α a short oblique, which might be an acute accent, then two points of ink (separated by damage) suited to another similar      η . .', back and lower curve of ε, θ, ο, c, ω; then top of upright followed by elision mark (apparently not to be combined as stem and loop of ρ)      α .[, trace after α may be end of tail, or beginning of next letter; above α, oblique lines in a different ink, too much for an acute accent, perhaps a sharp-nosed α      10 ] ., horizontal at line-level (δ, ζ, ξ? apparently not λ)      11 ] ., probably μ ο, with the left-hand side of ο lost in the narrow vertical strip of damage      .[, upright hooked to left at top, more ink to right (possible left-hand junction of ν)      12 Traces only, part on displaced fibres

## Fr. 12

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 5 . . . ν . υ μ ω [ ] . [  
 ] ξ αν θ ρ ω π ο . [  
 . . . [ ] ε φ . . [ ] . η ζ [ ]  
 ] χ ε ρ c ο γ δ ι ε π ω [  
 ] [ . . ] . ε . θ ε ο c α . [  
 ] . . . [ ] κ . . β . [ ] ρ é [  
 ] . . . . [ ] . ν ο . [ ] . [  
 10 ] η α δ [ ] ο λ [  
 ] ο ρ μ ο ν . [  
 ] ε ι ν ο . . [  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 13

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 12

Sheet join half way across (cutting pi in 4 θ ρ ω π)  
 1-2 Traces probably of two lines rather than one      3 ] . . ., first, ink at mid-height on projecting fibres; second perhaps π (or η, but one might expect the right-hand loop to go higher?); then trace on line, followed by foot of descending oblique?      ν ., lower right-hand arc      ] ω [ ] .[, lower left-hand arc (ε, c?)      4 .[, lower part of upright curving to the right (not enough curve for c?), then doubtful remains of a descending oblique (together, κ or ν?)      5 φ .[, on disordered fibres, trace at middle-height, then foot of upright a little below the line      ] ., damage followed by concave oblique (λ, μ?)      7 ] [, surface stripped      ] ., top and foot of tall upright      ε ., points from letter with descending oblique, χ rather than ν?      .[, top and back of c (but ε, θ not excluded)?      8 ] . . .[, third perhaps α (but a further point of ink

above)  $\kappa$ , first two dots of ink ranged vertically in the upper part of the line; second, part of upright, then oval arc (or rounded junction) at line-level; then after a space horizontal ink touching the back of  $\beta$  at mid-height  $\beta$ . [ ], ink touching the lower loop of  $\beta$ , part of the loop or next letter (e.g.  $\alpha$  would suit and fill the gap, but no letter is expected to come so close)? 9 ]... [ ], third and fourth perhaps  $\kappa$  and top and back of  $\epsilon$  or  $c$   $\nu$  [ ], probably top left junction of  $\nu$  10 ] $\eta$ , damaged at the top left, but the cross-bar is horizontal, therefore not  $\nu$  [ ], probably nothing, since any letter narrow enough to fit would show on the preserved papyrus towards line-level 11 ] [ ], shallow left-hand arc, with horizontal projecting to left at half-height ( $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ?) 12 ] [ ], allowing for distorted fibres to the right, probably the tops of  $\mu$  or of two triangular letters ( $\lambda\lambda$  etc.)

## Fr. 13

1 ] [ ], top of rising oblique, more ink below ( $\kappa$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\chi$ ?) ... [ ], first, perhaps left-hand part and right foot of  $\chi$ ; then traces at line-level 3 ] [ ], high and low points on the edge, e.g. extremities of  $\kappa$ ,  $\chi$  or  $\pi$ ,  $c$  4 ] [ ], obscure, possibly  $\beta$  (the  $\beta$  with extended base-line), but very cramped [ ], probably back and lower curve of  $\alpha$  5 ] [ ], oblique descending from left to right  $\epsilon$  likely, although what remains, the top and cross-bar, form a closed loop (too angular for  $\pi$ ; not  $\phi$ ) 6 ] [ ], point at line-level

## Fr. 14

5  
 ] [ ]  
 ]  $\nu\kappa\tau\omega$  [ ]  
 ]  $\iota\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon\pi$  [ ]  
 ]  $\overset{c}{\dots} \alpha\iota$  [ ]  
 ]  $\rho$  [ ]  
 ]  $\eta\epsilon$  [ ]

## Fr. 15

5  
 ]  $\epsilon\eta$  [ ]  
 ]  $\alpha\nu\epsilon$  [ ]  
 ]  $\lambda\iota$  [ ] [ ]  
 ]  $\alpha\nu$  [ ]  
 ]  $\epsilon$  [ ]

## Fr. 14

Mr Lobel originally saw traces of three more lines above line 1 ( ] [ ], ]  $\alpha$  [ ], ]  $\nu$  [ ]), and extra letters at the end of 3 ( $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$  [ ]) and beginning of 6 ( ]  $\mu\eta$  ): these since lost, as he notes

2 ] [ ], gently slanting trace in mid-line, below apparently blank ( $o$ ? but e.g.  $\epsilon$ ,  $\nu$  not excluded) 3 ] [ ], left side of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$  4 ] [ ], second, perhaps elements of small loop ( $o$ ,  $\rho$ ); third not explained (too much ink for  $\iota$ , too little for  $\nu$ ?); then  $c$  suprascript  $\alpha\iota$ , corrected or cancelled  $\chi$  (J. R. Rea)? [ ], high point of ink on the edge 5 ] [ ], elements of small loop at half-height ( $o$ ?) ... [ ], beginning of high oblique sloping down to right, then similar at lower level (to be combined as  $\chi$ ?)

## Fr. 15

1 ] [ ], foot of upright, perhaps thickened by a join (right-hand junction of  $\nu$ ?) Space after  $\eta$  not enough to prove line-end 2  $\nu$ , ink at top right is a serif, not a careless high stop? [ ], upper part of  $\epsilon$ , or lower of  $\epsilon$  (but  $o$  not excluded)? 3 ] [ ], top of upright with serif rather than junction? ] [ ], upper arc of circle, further ink to right (on twisted fibres?) 4 ] [ ], oblique back as of  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$  5 ] [ ], tip of horizontal at half-height [ ], triangular top, probably trace of horizontal base at left, i.e.  $\delta$

Fr. 16	Fr. 17
. . . . .	. . . . .
] . . . . [	] . [
] ζ α π ε ν . [	] . ν . [
] ν δ α ι ε ς . [	] . α . [
] μ . [	] . . [
. . . . .	] . . [
	5 ] κ . . [
	] ε μ . [
	] . [ . . . . [ ] [
	] . α ν η . [
	] . ω . . . [
	] . α ρ ε ε . [
	χ ρ [
	10 ] c η c . . [
	] . ι c [
	] . [ ] ω ν [
	] ε ν ο c [
	] ν δ [
	15 ] ν . [
	. . . . .

## Fr. 16

1 ] . . . . [ , second, perhaps loop and back of α; then ι?; lower curve of ε or c; then point at mid-height (extended tongue of ε?); foot of upright (e.g. ] . α ι ε ι [ MLW) 2 . [ , lower part of ε, θ 3 . [ , upright on edge 4 . [ , faint point at line-level

## Fr. 17

1 ] . [ , oblique feet as of λ etc? 2 ] . ν . [ , first, right-hand end of high horizontal; last, left-hand arc of small circle? 3 ] . . [ , second, right-hand junction of ν? Above this, ] . α : written quite large, but the line-spacing strongly suggests that the letters are interlinear, not an independent line-end 4 ] . . [ , first, α rather than λ 5 ] κ . . [ , α or λ, then high horizontal with traces below on the edge, e.g. ] κ α τ [ 7 ] . α ν , feet as of α κ λ χ; of ν the foot and part of the left-hand branch (if ι, the first dot of the diaeresis was elongated into a short oblique, not so at fr. 2. 3, but cf. fr. 26. 18) . [ , left-hand arc, perhaps descending oblique above, i.e. c Superscript: ] . . [ , last probably α, perhaps ] ζ ' α [ 8 ] . ω . . [ , first, right-hand junction as of ν?; second, highish horizontal joining upright to right, too short for τ, ψ, but if π (γ) the next trace, a point near line-level, follows unexpectedly close 9 ] . α ρ ε ε . [ , first, top of upright, η ι ν? last, upright, damaged at top, no junctions visible, ι? 10 . . [ , first, oblique feet, the former curled to the left: λ? κ? 11 ] . , λ? 12 ] . [ , lower curve as of ε, c 15 on displaced fibres ] ν . [ , loop of α?

## Fr. 18

. . . . .  
 ]ε.[  
 ]. αμενο.[  
 ]. [ ]ον. θυ[  
 ]. εμου [   
 5 ]. οοιο [   
 ]. γεωῖ [   
 ]εινεδεπαντα. [   
 ]. ρασατο[ ] απ. . [   
 ]. δεοιητο. <sup>ελπ. [ ]</sup> [   
 10 ]. α. . " a [ ] . [   
 ]. τα''κατ[ ]εϋ[  
 . . . . .

## Fr. 18

Sheet-join at extreme right

1 Further traces on a once detached strip to the right, ink on the stripped underlayer of fibres, from this line or the one before? 2 ], lower right-hand arc of circle, or junction of descending oblique and concave upright . [ , foot of upright, apparently further ink to the right (on the underlayer?) 3 ], upright with cross-bar to the right at mid-height, i.e. η? This does not explain the thin horizontal which seems to cross the base of ο. But if it was (say) ], θον, I do not see what to do with the remaining space ν, ink (part of descending oblique) above a hole, more ink to the right at line level. If a vowel, ε best suits trace and space? 5 ], foot of upright with hook or junction to the left 6 ], curving tail as of α ν, corrected Final ν dotted above and below 8 ], point on the edge at two-thirds height 9 ], lower part of upright curving rightwards at the foot, traces of cross-bar above and projecting to the right? i.e. η, π? ητο., perhaps right side of small loop Above, by another hand, ελπ. [ ], first trace foot of upright, then after a gap a high dash or end of high horizontal (ελπις, the sigma with its top prolonged to the right? or ελπι[c]?) 10 ]. α. . , first, apparently left-hand end of high horizontal; after α, apparently ν 11 ], upper right arc of circle, or part of sloping upright, towards top of line

Fr. 19	
col. i	col. ii
1	. ] δ[ ] .μητ[ ] χ[ ]ημα. [ ] φ. [ ]δεδ. [ ] άγρετος. [ 5 ] δηρον[ ] τουσα[ ] ρυσιον[ ] κάιμ[ ] . αιμ[ 10 ] δ. . . . [ ] . ηευμ. [ ] . [ ]εουα[ ] ο[ . ]κιςχε[ ] αλλε. [ 15 ] ηςπαι[ ] φρεικωθ[ ] . ακου σπευδον[ ] . ενλεκτ[ ] ξεινου. [ 20 ] ερχομε[ ] . η. ε. [ ] κ[ ] [ ] χ. [ ] . . . [ ] αλλ[

Fr. 19

Col. ii

1 ] . , point on edge at half-height      2 . [ , triangular junction at line-level, δ?      3 φ. [ ] , point of ink at half-height      δ. [ , curving lip of υ, ω?      4 άγ, of gamma the foot and the right-hand tip, τ perhaps possible      . [ , upright or convex back with leftward projection at mid height (of vowels, ε η)      7 υ[ , upright with only a trace of the central oblique      9 . α, high point of ink to the right  
 10 δ. . . , α or λ, then foot of upright      11 . η, left hand arc, horizontal at half-height extending to the right      μ. [ , apparently the upper elements of η, though rather narrow      12 . [ , upper part of upright, with join from the right at half-height (e.g. top left of η, κ)? Very doubtful      14 . [ , perhaps a wide π, perhaps τϵ      19 . [ , α, δ      21 . η, φ or ψ; if φ, the loop is narrow and carelessly made, but there seems to be more ink than ψ would require      . ε. [ , first α, δ; second, point level with letter-tops?      22 χ. [ , long descender      23 ] . . [ , second apparently φ, but the loop anomalously far to the right      Mr Lobel originally saw remains of two more lines, now lost: 25 θυ. α, 26 αϵ

## Fr. 20

. . . . .

(a)                   ]. [

]. εριων[

... []. ν·

]ν· . . . . . [

]. οττητιτ[

5                   ]κάλα. [

(b)               ]. [ ] . . . . . [ ] . [

]. εξερεβενκκ[

]. δωρο[

]ωνδ[

10               ]. φοικιθ[ ] [ (c) (d)

]. ητ· ÿ [ . . . . . ] κρορ[

] [ ] ασαν . [ . . ] . [ ] υ . [ ] ς· α[

]. 'φ[ ] . μοναλ . . [

]ων· τίνα . . [ . . ] . [ ] λω . [

· ωι [

15               ]. τε . [                                   ] ενορ[

]. . [

. . . . .

## Fr. 20

Sheet-join to left (visible after 3 ]ν·)

Four small pieces combine. (a) and (b) are ranged one above the other by the back fibres and the sheet join visible to the left; (a) above (b), because in 6 the letter-tops in (a) seem to combine conveniently with the letter-feet in (b). In 11-12 (ac|σαν) (c) joins (b) on the right (the join was made by MLW on grounds of content; the fibres confirm it perfectly). (d) is ranged to the right of (c) by the horizontal fibres, and spaced in such a way that in 14 τίνα (c) provides the first part of ν, (d) the second upright

1 ] . [ , foot of long descender                   2 ] . , ν (but left-hand side unusually sloped)? or α (δ, λ) ι<sup>2</sup> or ω<sup>2</sup> to the right, unexplained point of ink, e.g. low stop or foot of ι (or from suprascript letters in 3?)  
3 ] ν· , high stop seems clear                   . . . . . [ , badly damaged, first perhaps rising oblique as of α etc.; fourth, long descender as of ρ etc.                   suprascript . . . [ ] ν· , before first trace perhaps a point corresponding to that at the end; first, perhaps back and part of loop of α; third, long descender, but it may belong to ρ in 2; fourth, damaged ο or second loop of ω                   4 ] . , upright on edge (ι, ν<sup>2</sup>)                   5 ] . [ , lower part of upright, ink above to left (stroke, or left-hand dot of diaeresis?)                   6 ] . . . . . [ , traces on upper and lower fragments combine, first, lower curve as of ε etc?; second, top and base as of ε, ς, apparent grave accent above; third, triangular top and right foot of α, λ; then top and lower arc (θ? too large for ο?); then top and lower curve of ε, ς, perhaps trace of cross-bar, i.e. ε                   ] . [ , lower part of λ or perhaps χ                   7 ] . , upper part of thick upright; another high dot to right (interlinear? very long descender from 6?)                   8 ] . , right-hand end of horizontal at one-third height, e.g. ε                   10 ] . , α, λ                   ] [ , no ink visible on damaged surface  
11 ] . , concave upright or shallow right-hand arc                   τ . , upright, then hint of horizontal at mid-height, then concave upright (together, η?)                   12 ν . [ , lower elements of ν?                   ] . [ , top and lower stem of τ (stem very curved)?                   υ . [ ] , π [ ] ? or γ ligatured to a left-hand arc (e.g. γε, γο)?                   13 ] . ' , first, top elements of μ, or of αλ, λα etc.; second, trace above small hole, of vowels only ο would fit the space?                   [ ] . , lower part of upright, [ ] ι or a single wider letter, e.g. η                   . . [ , first, anomalous, apparently λ corrected by overwriting to or from ο; second, left-hand and lower arcs of circle with further ink top right, ς or possibly ω?  
14 . . [ , first, oblique top as of α, δ, λ                   ] . [ , top of upright                   ] . [ , left-hand end of high horizontal, perhaps traces of upright below (i.e. π?)                   15 ] λ , right-hand arc of ο, ω                   ] . [ , left-hand branches of χ rather than λ



## Fr. 21

. . . . .

]. [ ] . . . [ ] . . . . [

] . δονβαλλομ . [

] εγωποταμου [ ] . . [

] . ψαιπρωταβ [ ] η<sup>α</sup> [

5 ] μακετ . ν . ε . α . [

] μηνηματαπαν . [

] . . [ ] σελας [ ] . ινευ . αντο [

. . . . .

] ηηνσυμμ . [ ] . ηηφιλεω [

] . νωιγα . . [ ] . [ ] ρηπειδατ [

10 ] . τι . [ ] . ριην . [

] . δε [ ] . ειποτεφ [

. . . . .

] πο . . . [

] ωστ [

] . . [

15 ] . υων [

] χε . [

] . . [

. . . . .

## Fr. 21

A sheet join touches the end of 7, and runs through δ at the end of 9

2 ] . . , curving tail, *a* likely, λ, μ possible . . . [ , ink in upper part of line, sloping up steeply from left to right . . . 3 γ, the top of the upright (anomalously hooked to the left), and the horizontal (not ξ, ε, τ) τ<sup>α</sup>μ<sup>ο</sup>, of τ the left-hand end of the cross-bar; of *a* the back and top junction; of ο the right-hand arc ] . . [ , first, descending oblique, possible trace of junction as of λ etc.; second, perhaps shallow curved trace at line-level, e.g. *a* . . . 4 ] . . , if not delusory, a point well below the line, e.g. ρ . . α<sub>ι</sub>, of *a* the three extremities, of ι the top and foot β [ ] , if the fibres lie correctly, a very narrow space (ι possible, but not ο)

5 ] μ, right-hand part only, λ not excluded? τ . . , upright trace in upper part of line, hole to right . . ε . α . [ , first, probably τ (left-hand cross-bar and stem), but π not excluded?; second, perhaps extremities of λ, but fibres disordered (apparently not κ); third, top of stroke descending to right, but on disordered fibres, perhaps originally a simple upright with thin cross-bar (γ, η?) . . . 6 . [ , τ likely, π not excluded

7 ] . . , first, short oblique cap as of ε etc.; second, lower part of upright . . ε rather than μ (Lobel) . . . , right-hand tip of horizontal at two-thirds height . . ν . . , confused fibres, but apparently elements of single letter with rounded back, i.e. *c*? . . . 8 . [ , small trace sloping sharply upwards from left to right (of vowels, *a*, ο most likely?) . . . ] . . , upright . . . above φ<sub>ι</sub>, γε or perhaps τε (but the left-hand cross-bar would be rather short, assuming that the trace at the extreme left is a separate point, corresponding to that after ε)

9 ] . . , top of upright, well above the line (e.g. φ), unless the fibres are shifted . . γα . . [ , so rather than γλ (Lobel); first trace may continue tail of *a*; then only part of upright at line-level, broken above and below ] . . [ , ink level with letter-tops . . τ [ , only the left-hand part of the long cross-bar . . . 10 ] . τ<sub>ι</sub> . [ , first, left hand arc of small loop (ο)?; τ<sub>ι</sub>, perhaps π not excluded; second, lower elements of *a* rather than λ? . . . ] . . , upper right-hand arc (ο?) . . [ , dislocated elements with elision mark to right (Lobel)? or rather remains of upper loop and stem of ρ? . . . 11 ] . . , ν rather than η (Lobel), since the cross-bar slopes? . . . 12 ] πο . . . [ , of π the right-hand part of cross-bar and the joining upright, of ο the top and left-hand side ( ] ε; Lobel); then trace perhaps rising from left to right, but fibres disordered; then elements in the upper part of the line, perhaps combine as ω . . . 14 apparently blank line-end (pentameter), possible traces (marginal?) near the right-hand edge on displaced fibres . . . 15 ] . . , point above the top level, to right, at line-level, end of oblique sloping down from left to right (*a*, λ etc.) . . . 16 . [ , possibly top of upright, and part of upper branch, of κ . . . 17 ] . . [ , slightly convex upright on edge; then perhaps left-hand, and upper right-hand, elements of ν

Fr. 22	Fr. 23
. . .	. . .
]υχ.[	]..[
]. προπατω[	] [
]. θωνην.[	]. ν.[
]. ωνυπερημ[	]ςτεφ[
5 ] λιη <sup>α</sup> σαγλαο..[	5 ] πλη[
]. ει[	]μελε[
. . .	]εδευ[
	. . .

## Fr. 22

1 χ. [, χ rather than λ, to judge from the heavy curl at the lower left; then short upright, with heavy oblique serif or junction at top (ν rather than ι?) 2 ],, lower right-hand arc at top level (ο, ρ?) 3 ],, point of ink level with the letter-tops θω, θ small, cross-bar projecting to touch next letter, whose first stroke is overwritten (correction to or from η? but not enough ink for ηω) .[, left-hand arc of flattened circle (c?) 4 ],, foot of upright, high cross-bar extending to right (γ, τ) 5 ],, sloping back as of α, λ .[, apparently tall vertical ink above thick horizontal ink in mid-line, φ (but with loop filled in) rather than ψ? then hooked trace, top of angular loop or left hook of ω? 6 ],, top of slightly concave upright

## Fr. 23

Possible sheet-join.

1-2 stripped; in 1 traces of ink on the underlayer 3 ].ν.[, first, oblique back as of α; second, left-hand end of high horizontal, foot of upright below, τ? (but another trace at mid-height follows unexpectedly close)

## Fr. 24

	. . .
	] [
	] [
	] [
	] οιο.[
5	] μη.[
	]δηλ[
	]..[
	] [
	. . .

## Fr. 24

1-3 stripped; 4 might be top of column, but possibly a trace of ink at the beginning of 3 5 .[, part of horizontal at line-level, more ink above (δ not suggested; ξ possible?) 6 λ[, rather than μ 7 ].[, first, λλ rather than μ?; second, spot on edge at line-level



## Fr. 25

] αιηγοροϛ [   
 ] εγέλᾱτε . [ ] [   
 ] πειφιλοϛιϛ [   
 ] υκαχαριϛγϛ [   
 5 ] ν̄δυοκρεϛϛ [   
 ] . ρ . . ϛονοϛ [   
 ] . . ζομενη [   
 ] . . αγουϛαμε [   
 ] . . θηλιᾱ καιλιγ . [   
 10 ] . . λφετω̄ουκ [   
 ] . . υ . τωνα [   
 ] . . αϛ . . ῆ̄ . [   
 ] . . ατρϛ [   
 ] υπροϛ . [   
 15 ] . . εαμιϛ . [   
 ] . ωταφερω [   
 ] . . ϛτυγοϛ . [   
 ] . . ε . [

## Fr. 25

1 ] , curving upright, hooked sharply to right at foot (too shallow for  $\epsilon$ ) 2 ]  $\epsilon$ , only tip of upper stroke and cross-bar . [ ] . [ , left side of  $\lambda$  or possibly  $\mu$ ; to right of gap, lower part of oblique descending from left to right, or lower left arc of circle 3 ]  $\pi\epsilon\iota$  rather than ]  $\epsilon\eta$  (Lobel), although  $\epsilon$  is rather shallow?  $\iota\epsilon$  [ , trace above  $\iota$  to right (part of diaeresis?); at end it seems top and stem of  $\pi$  or  $\tau$  5 stop faint, not to be trusted 6 . .  $\rho$  . . , first, doubtful ink on twisted fibres; then perhaps top of  $\epsilon$ ,  $\rho$  likely (not  $\sigma$ , unless lower traces do not belong); fourth, apparently stem and horizontal as of  $\gamma$ , but the horizontal thick; then lower right-hand arc of circle, i.e.  $\sigma$ ? final  $\epsilon$  does not have its top extended; short blank after may suggest, but does not prove, line-end 7 ] . .  $\zeta$ , indeterminate traces ( ] ,  $\epsilon\xi$  Lobel, but  $\zeta$  seems certain) 8 ] . .  $\alpha\gamma$ , confused traces on straggling fibres;  $\gamma$  plausible, but  $\tau$  not excluded? 9 ] . .  $\theta$ , traces on straggling and displaced fibres; of  $\theta$ , only the lower part, on twisted fibres, but fairly secure  $\iota\alpha$  , the stop very doubtful  $\gamma$  . [ , high trace, perhaps tip of oblique descending from left to right, no clear ink below this (if so, only suitable vowels  $\upsilon$  and perhaps  $\omega$ ) 10 ] . .  $\lambda$ , first, on a piece attached by a few fibres, a thick trace, touching a long thin horizontal level with letter-tops (this might combine with next to make  $\tau$ ); second, upper part of  $\gamma$  or  $\tau$ ; third, elements of  $\alpha$  or  $\lambda$  (not it seems combining with  $\lambda$  to make  $\mu$ )  $\omega$  , the stop seems secure 11 ] . .  $\upsilon$  . . , doubtful trace on straggling fibres; then perhaps projecting cross-bar of  $\epsilon$ ; then convex upright; last, tall upright with junction at mid-height, ink to right near line-level ( $\kappa$ ??)  $\alpha$  [ , point of ink at mid-height before this, unexplained 12 ] . . , second, oblique back as of  $\lambda$  . .  $\etā$ , first, probably  $\alpha$ ; then long horizontal top with ink below,  $\pi$ ,  $\tau$  13 ] . . , elements of triangular letter, then upright, e.g.  $\delta\iota$  (very doubtful); to left of this, more ink on movable scrap 14  $\sigma\epsilon$  . [ , above  $\sigma$  a vertical (superscript  $\iota$  rather than tail of  $\rho$  in 13?); end, doubtful ink on twisted fibres 15 ] . . , fibres disturbed; apparently foot of upright, perhaps with end of horizontal at mid-height before; then probably  $\kappa$  16 ] . . , twisted fibres, immediately before  $\omega$  top of upright?  $\tau$  likely ( $\pi$ ,  $\xi$  Lobel)  $\omega$  [ , only the initial curl 17 ] . . , traces on projecting fibres; then perhaps  $\epsilon$  . [ , possible stop, then high oblique trace descending from left to right, perhaps junction at top as of  $\alpha$  etc., but  $\upsilon$  not excluded? 18 ] . .  $\epsilon$  . [ , second perhaps  $\epsilon$ ; third, upright on edge descending below line

## Fr. 26

1 . . . . .  
 ] . . θο[  
 ] γτ[ ] . [  
 ] θον . πιχρο[  
 ] . . [ ] ωπαρμεν . [  
 5 ] νδο[ ] νθος . χ . [  
 ] . . εχω[ ] ονπολλατελ . . [  
 ] . εγαρελ . [ ] . ιγηραεμ . γ[  
 ] . . ησο . [ ] . οντιδεχεικ[  
 ] . ιοιοισταυ[ ] . ειταινοος[ ] . [  
 10 ] νοσε[ ] καιβιοτοι' ολ[  
 ] . οικαλλ[ ] . [ ] . αυταμαθω . [  
 ] αγαθωντληθιχα[ ] [  
 ] [ ] φραζευδεπαλα[  
 ] γλωσσηεεκφυγ' όμη . [  
 15 ] πα . δαμα[  
 ] ψυδρηιςε[  
 ] . νθαλιηις . [  
 ] . εϋστρεπτω . [  
 ] ωνεγ[ ] θακαι[  
 20 ] . . [ ] . [

## Fr. 26

The beginnings of 13 ff. on a small strip originally separate, joined here by Dr Rea and MLW independently

1 ] . . , trace (of horizontal?) at half-height; then upright, thickened at top, damage above (*i?* *v* perhaps not excluded)      2 ] . [ , foot of long descender, if not delusory      3 *v* . , lower left-hand arc  
 4 ] . . [ , foot of upright; then rising oblique higher to the right, then descending oblique e.g. *v*χ (Lobel thought of ρλ, or of interpreting part of the ink as an accent)?      [ , upper arc, or top of upright with oblique cap descending to right (among vowels, ε, ο)      5 ] . , lowest elements of α?      ζ . , trace at line-level  
 [ , lower arc at line-level      6 ] . . , space for two letters, but only one trace, foot of upright  
 . . [ , first, probably top and right-hand end of cross-bar of ε; second, top of ε, ε?      7 ] . , ink on straggling fibre  
 [ , left-hand end of cross-bar at two-thirds height      [ ] . , high trace sloping down from left to right, then elements of upright      μ . , high and low ink consistent with ε      8 ] . . , foot of upright, high horizontal above to right, touching another upright      [ ] . , upright trace on edge in upper part of line  
 9 ] . , right-hand end of high horizontal, ink on line below      [ ] . , foot of oblique descending from left to right      [ ] . [ , doubtful ink at half-height      11 ] . , elements of horizontal at two-thirds height      [ ] . [ , trace towards line-level, sloping down from left to right      [ ] . , right-hand end of high horizontal?      [ ] . [ , top and foot of upright  
 12 ] [ , stripped      13 ] [ , stripped      14 ] . [ , trace on edge at two-thirds height      15 α . , apparently a small closed loop as of ο      17 ] . , perhaps lower curve with cross-bar (ε) or flat top (ε) above      [ ] . [ , upright hooked to left at top      18 ] . , upright on the edge?      *v*̄, single trace which I have taken as left-hand part of diaeresis, but large and elongated, cf. fr. 17. 7, possibly part of suprascript letter or even long descender from 17      [ ] . [ λ, μ, ν?      20 ] . . [ , three tops, could be combined as ω or e.g. *v*γ



Fr. 27 + 2327 frs. 3-4

		]	
		]. . ἰ <sup>ο</sup> ι θαλάσσης [	
		]. ουσαπορον· [	
		]μενος ἔνθα περανα[	
		]	5
	Fr. 27	]οιμι κελευθο[	
	top	]ν κόσμ[ο]ν ἰο[στ]εφάνων	
	] . . κοσμ[ . ]γιο[	] ἔδος πολύδενδρον ἰκο[	
	] ἔδος . [ . ] λυδε[	]α νῆσον ἄγαλμα . [	
	]αγαλμα . [	]δην ξανθοτρ[	10
	] . νξανθοτρ[	] . ν χεῖρα λαβοι . [	
5	] . ειραλαβοι . [	]ντος ἀπὸ χροὸς αν[	
	] . αποχροοσαν[	]ων ἰμερόεντα[	
	] . ιμεροεντα[	] . δος ἐν ἄνθε[	
	] . δος . νανθε[	] φαρκίδας εκ . [	15
	] . αρκιδασεκ . [	]α νεοβλαστ[	
10	] . ν . . βλαστ[		

Fr. 27

1 ] . ., traces of one or two letters, first perhaps parts of upright, together possibly elements of ν  
 2 . [ ] ., first, left-hand end of horizontal at two-thirds height; second, damaged area, points of ink at line-level and above to right  
 3 . [ , upright with junction at half-height? 'Perhaps left-hand base angle of δ' Lobel, but there seems too much ink for that; in some ways β or κ suggested, but only if the branches cross and project to the left of the stem (abnormal); θ would leave some ink unexplained, and again the crossbar does not normally project  
 4 ] ., parts of upright with crossbar at mid-height (disordered fibres)?  
 5 ] ., right-hand elements of χ?  
 6 ] ., tip of descending oblique at two-thirds height (overhang of c etc.)  
 7 ] ., faint trace towards the top of the line, perhaps delusory  
 8 ] . δος ., first, 'loop of ρ suggested, but anomalously rectilinear' Lobel (but perhaps rather flattened top and stem of ν); second, elements reconcilable with the back and crossbar of ε  
 9 ] ., short horizontal trace at mid-level, surface destroyed above to left  
 10 ] . ν . ., first, sloping back as of α? after ν, upper and lower elements of a circle; then at upper level junction of upright and descending oblique, or top of angular loop

Fr. 28	Fr. 29	Fr. 30
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] λ̇δ̇α. [	. [	] [
] υα. [	stripped?	] ην. . [
] αυλ. [	stripped?	] . . [ ] . [
] ωκει [	] . . . . [	] ης. [
. . . . .	] ψαμεν. [	. . . . .
	] γονω. . . [	
	. . . . .	

## Fr. 28

1 ] ., curving tail as of *a* etc. λ̇δ̇, traces of the flat base of δ? but μ not excluded? . [, upright, horizontal trace joining at top right 2 ] ., curving tail and top junction as of *a* etc. . [, upright hooked left at top, right at foot 3 ] ., branches as of κ, χ . [, left-hand arc of circle?

## Fr. 29

4 ] . . . . [, first right-hand junction of π?; second, apparently ε, but unexplained point below; third, very long descender, ?ρ, but no trace of the loop 5 ] ., curved tail as of *a*, λ . [, after a space, foot of upright 6 ω. . . [, first perhaps c (distorted fibres); traces of two more letters partly concealed by fragile turn-over

## Fr. 30

2 . . [, first, lower arc as of ε, c; second, lower part of upright and descending oblique (κ, ν?) 4 ] ., upper arc of c or the like . [, left-hand end of horizontal at mid-height?

Fr. 31	Fr. 32	Fr. 33
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] . . ρ . . . [	] δωρ' ανα [	] [
] . ων . . [	] . ακα . . [	] [
] υμη. [	] . [	] ιζειν [
] . . [	. . . . .	] [
] . [		. . . . .
. . . . .		

## Fr. 31

1 ρ. . . [, or perhaps φ; then foot of upright (*ι*?) probably base of δ; lower arc and part of cross-bar of ε? 2 ] ., long horizontal at mid-height 3 ] ψ, in the v-shape (anomalous)

## Fr. 32

2 . . [, first, upper and lower elements of c?; second, long high horizontal, τ?

Fr. 34	Fr. 35	Fr. 36
. . . . .	top?	. . . . .
] . [ . . . ] . [	] . ερ[	] [
] . . ροσα . [	] γα[	] . †νερ[
] . οδοσ . [	. . . . .	] [
] . τξ . [		. . . . .
. . . . .		

Fr. 34  
<sup>2</sup> ] . . , top of upright, with high horizontal projecting to right; feet as of η, π . . . [ , sloping upright, joins oblique descending from left to right (λ, ν?) E.g. ]τηρος, ] . προσαλ[ . . . . . 4 ] . . , perhaps branches of ν . . . [ , upright, high horizontal joins and continues to right, γ or π?

Fr. 35  
<sup>1</sup> ] . . , upright, high horizontal extending to right, γ or τ

Fr. 36  
<sup>2</sup> ] . † . , oblique trace directly below breathing, of vowels α, ο?

Fr. 37	Fr. 38	Fr. 39
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
] μ . . [	] . . . . ν[	] . [
] [	] . θεαζ . †ε . [	] [
] . κο[	] [	] ω [
. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

Fr. 37  
<sup>1</sup> ] μ , rather than λ? . . . [ , first, probably feet and traces of cross-bar of η; second, lower arc as of ε etc. . . . . 3 ] . . , probably short trace at line level (end of horizontal or descending oblique), then ι

Fr. 38  
<sup>1</sup> ] . . . . , first, foot of descending oblique; then probably elements of ενο; final ν, if rightly seen, very wide, i.e. line-final? . . . . . 2 ] . . , apparently ε, but cross-bar oddly short . . . Space after ζ . . . [ , upper and left-hand elements of triangular letter

Fr. 39  
<sup>1</sup> ] . . , curving foot of long descender, ρ MLW

Fr. 40

·  
·  
·  
]...[  
]θρω[  
]οι.[  
]ς.[  
·  
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Fr. 41

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·  
·  
].[  
]ηι[  
·  
·  
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Fr. 42

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·  
·  
]  
]  
]αγτο [ [   
] [   
].[  
·  
·  
·

Fr. 40

1 ]...[, first probably loop of α; then λ, intersected by a very long descender from the line above

Fr. 42

Sheet-join on the right

Fr. 43

·  
·  
·  
]θνμ[  
]..α..[  
·  
·  
·

Fr. 44

·  
·  
·  
].[  
]...[  
]κλ.[  
].ς.[  
·  
·  
·

Fr. 45

·  
·  
·  
].ων[  
].χς.[  
·  
·  
·

Fr. 43

2 ]..α..[, traces of high horizontal and upright (together, π<sup>2</sup>); third, probably ς; fourth, tip of oblique descending from left to right

Fr. 44

2 ]...[, first anomalous, ξ altered to ε or vice versa<sup>2</sup>; then blank space of one letter? 3 .[, left-hand arc 4 .[, high horizontal, π, τ?

Fr. 45

1 ]., apparently λ, but anomalous ink close up on edge to left 2 ]., descending oblique as of λ etc. .[, upright, another point further right

Fr. 46

·  
·  
·  
]πα[  
·  
·  
·

Fr. 47

·  
·  
·  
].α..[  
·  
·  
·

Fr. 47

]..α..[, first, part of oblique descending from left to right, trace of vertical before it? second, upright and upper branch of κ (or cross-bar of η)? e.g. ]κακ.[; or ]χαιτ[ MLW



Fr. 1

1–10 **2327** fr. 6 [Adesp. Eleg. 33 W] provides 1–4, and overlaps 5–10. **2327** fr. 27 col. i [56 W] provides ends for 9 ff., and the continuation of the text in col. ii [58 W] (reproduced for convenience in the transcript on p. 9, although its exact horizontal range in relation to **3965** cannot be determined). On the placing of fr. 3, see below.

**2327** fr. 6 is the top of a column, fr. 5 the foot. MLW suggests that fr. 5, which clearly refers to a heroic death, directly preceded fr. 6, where some one apparently dies at the hands of Apollo. Fr. 5 has a sheet-join to the right (in the second foot), and fr. 6 another (in the fourth foot), so that we cannot expect to trace horizontal fibres; but the width of the sheet, estimated from the metrical lengths it would contain, is roughly comparable with that between the two joins (the former inferred from a discontinuity of fibres) in **2327** fr. 1 + 2 (Lobel p. 69). But other contexts could be thought of, even within this poem: the fall of Masistius, or Mardonius?

West restored **2327** fr. 6 to refer to Patroclus and Apollo. The new piece confirms the Trojan context: Greeks (10) sack (9) a town, Priam and Paris make plausible supplements (6–7). 11–14 describe the fame which their poet assured to those short-lived heroes. 15 f. say farewell to some one, apparently Achilles; a formula familiar from the Homeric hymns leads over to a new theme.

1 Hex. ]φc Lobel: ]φc not excluded.

.[, 'an upright', i.e. ν or ι West (ν preferable, if the trace of an oblique join at the top is not delusory).

2–4 Πατρ[όκλου(ς), δ]άμασσαν, Απόλλ[ωνος West, referring to the death of Patroclus (*Il.* 16. 788 ἦντετο γάρ τοι Φοῖβος ... 791 πλῆξεν δέ ... | χειρὶ καταπρηνεῖ ... 845 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης καὶ Απόλλων, οἳ με δάμασσαν). The new fragment shows that Achilles was central to this section; that might explain why Simonides gave Patroclus a substantial niche even in this short-order view of the Trojan War. But the transition is sudden: 7–8 sum up the cause of the war, 9–10 its conclusion. Therefore (argues MLW) Apollo should figure here for the death of Achilles himself (*Il.* 19. 416 f.; 22. 359)—alluded too again in 14.

2 Pent. .[, the lower part of an upright, hooked to the right (ε or c); the beginning of a stroke rising to the right. Πατρ[όκλου] ca[, cλ[, cχ[? Homer has genitives -ου, -οιο, -ῆος; TLG registers no instance of -ουc (the nominative Πατροκλῆς Theoc. 15. 140).

3 Hex. ] .[, top and foot of shallow oblique, alpha likely. .[, 'apparently the bottom left-hand angle of δ, but φ also possible'.

4 Pent. Various patterns are suggested by *Il.* 9. 405 (and often) | Φοῖβου Απόλλωνος, Hes. fr. 25. 12 MW ἀλλ' ὑπ' Απόλλωνος χειρ[ίν], CEG 572. 5 Ἀχιλλῆος χειρὶ δαμείc ἔθανεν.

5 (1) Hex. ]εουc .[, **3965**, with alpha (probably) suprascript over the second ε, then a flat top compatible with π: ]υcaπ. [, **2327**, 'a trace compatible with the top left-hand corner of ε or ο' (but perhaps just part of a thick upright).

6 (2) Suppl. Lobel. παιcι **3965**: παιcι, δ suprascript, **2327**.

χ[, though damaged, seems inevitable; a participle would fit well at the line-end. χ[αριζ]ομ[εν- has attractions: commonly in this place (fr. 26. 12 below; Archil. fr. 6 W, Theogn. 920, 1000, 1224); for παιδὶ χ.], see the fifth century epigrams CEG I 58. 6, 169. 2 (epitaphs; favour done by the living to the dead), 365. 2 (*Κρόνου π. χ.*, dedication, favour done by man to god), and especially Theogn. 773 f. Φοῖβε ἄναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπύργωcας πόλιν ἄκρην, | Ἀλκαθῶ Πέλοπος παιδὶ χαριζόμενος. But if Apollo is the subject here too, doing favours to the sons of Priam, or to a singular son (Hector; not Paris, if he comes in the next line), we have an awkward transition from Apollo's intervention to the punishment of Paris' sin. MLW therefore proposes to introduce in 5 the deities hostile to Troy, and therefore to restore χ[αλεπτ]ομ[εν- in 6.

7 (3) ]οιοκα. [, **2327**. Suppl. Lobel, who thought also of κακοφρ[αδέ]c (κακοφρ[αδέ]c excluded by space as well as by metre). After the sigma, apparently a *diastole*; that assures word-end, but what ambiguous division was it intended to prevent?

Paris is not normally so described (his Iliadic epithets are δῖος and θεοειδής); and in fact κακόφρων occurs in the epic only as Zenodotus' reading (conjecture) at *Il.* 11. 123 and 138 |—οο Ἄντιμάχοιο δαΐφρωνος; and then in poets of the Roman period, of Phaethon Q. Sulpicius Maximus, Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 618. 3, of Oenomaus QS 4. 527. Earlier uses in Pind. fr. 211 and tragedy. Not normally in prose (only Theophr., *Piet.* 3. 3), but later a favourite with Athanasius.

ωc . . [, the second trace perhaps ε or c: ὦcτξ possible, ὦc τξ less likely, not ὦc ποτε.

8 (4) ] .θειηc, the foot of an upright: η ι π ρ υ possible (γ τ excluded by the spacing?), though η and π in particular normally have a hooked foot.



αρμα clear in **3965**; **2327** has ]ρμακ[, with ] .ερ written above ]ρ, before ε a horizontal trace, not a point to mark the beginning of the variant (in any case, no such point can be seen at the end). That is, ἄρμα with variant τέρμα (not ἔρμα, cf. Aesch., *Eum.* 564) (Lobel)?

δικ[, δι .[ very likely as a reading, the last trace consistent with α δ η ι κ μ ν υ χ. Context and metre suggest some part of δίκη.

7–8 (3–4) The general drift emerges from κακοφρ[, καθείλε and δικ[, that the destruction of Troy resulted from the sin of Paris. *συντέμνουσι γάρ / θεῶν ποδωκείς τοὺς κακόφρονας βλαβαί* (Soph., *Ani.* 1104). There are two main problems in reconstructing the syntax: (i) what attaches Ἀλεξά]νδροιο to the context? (ii) what forms the subject of καθείλε?

(i) (a) The genitive may look back. In that case I see nothing for it but to write e.g. εὔνεκ' at the beginning (*Il.* 6. 356 Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἄτης), and begin a new clause with ὡς (ὤς). Alternatively, (b) the genitive may look forward, on the pattern ἔβριον Ἀλεξά]νδροιο κακόφρ[ονο]ς (or θάρρος Ἀλεξά]νδροιο κακοφρ[αδέ]ς) ὡς ... καθείλε.

(ii) (a) The subject may be Δίκη[η. ἄρμα (τέρμα) will be the object; ] .θειγς must then be a noun, or an adjective agreeing with a noun now lost; if we reconstruct 7 on the pattern of (i) (b), space must be found for a connective linking the two accusatives. Dr Hutchinson suggests that we need a noun to mean 'prosperity', as at Eur., *HF* 780 (the lawless man) ἔθραυεν ὄλβον κελαινὸν ἄρμα, or 'vice', 'foolishness' or the like: εὐ]ηθείγς could be considered.

(b) The subject may be ἄρμα (τέρμα) ... Δίκη[ης. We could then write ] ἰθείγς, or perhaps ε]ὑθείγς, to agree with it (ι- might be expected in epic and ionic, εὐ- in Attic; but Tyrtaeus and Theognis, as transmitted, use both). For this traditional epithet see Theogn. 330, Solon fr. 36. 19 W etc., and West on Hes., *Th.* 85–6; ] .θείγς remains an alternative (MLW). Here there are related problems about the use of ἄρμα (τέρμα), and the precise meaning of καθείλε. If the poet wrote ἄρμα, we have an image of Justice not (so far as I see) attested elsewhere: the personification normally sits enthroned (West on Hes., *Op.* 259), or with balance, keys or club (Bacch. 16. 25 f.; Parm. 28 B 1. 14; Eur., *Hipp.* 1172); no chariot appears in art, or in descriptions of art (Aesch., *Sept.* 642–8; SVF III 197–8 fr. 1; QS 5. 45 f.), as surveyed in *LIMC* III i 388 ff. But this may be too literal-minded; no doubt any powerful deity could command a vehicle. If the poet wrote τέρμα, it might mean 'destined end' (Aesch., *Ag.* 781 πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμᾶ, sc. Δίκη), or more generally 'authority' ('Simon.', AP 13. 26. 4 = FGE 830 τέρμ' ἔχων Κορίνθου). If the two are variants, we should expect them to function similarly in the image; and it is a question whether we should treat the phrase as pictorial, or as a simple paraphrase. If the latter, the sense will be equivalent to κατέμαρψε δίκη, Theogn. 207, and καθείλε will mean 'brought (him, it) down': *Od.* 2. 100 etc. μοῖρ' ὀλοή καθέλλησι ... θανάτοιο, Aesch., *Ag.* 398 φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαιρεί, sc. θεός. But if a visually coherent image is sought, τέρμα seems alien to violent action; ἄρμα would make a violent image, but perhaps not a practicable one, if καθ- implies 'from the top down' or 'down from a height'.

(c) The subject might be Paris (less likely a paraphrase for him, with ἄρμα or τέρμα), the object ἄρμα (τέρμα) Δίκη[ης (less likely Δίκη[ην). Again, a question whether to look for visual coherence: literally, καθαιρεῖν ἄρμα seems implausible, κ. τέρμα less so (though I find no evidence for the meaning 'boundary stone', which would suit best).

9 ff. The reconstruction proposed depends on two assumptions.

(i) **2327** fr. 27 col. i provides the ends of the same lines. There is no direct physical proof of this. But the arguments seem overwhelming. (a) The spacing works very well: that is, if you reconstruct the line-ends of **3965** on this basis, you find that the line-ends in **2327** appear in just the right vertical range (the pentameters, and the hexameter 15, would be too short to show). The mid-line lacunas in 17 and 19 are estimated on the same basis. (b) The text which results confirms itself, at least in 9 (the Homeric allusion), 13 (Theocritus' allusion), and 17 (where the sense requires the vocative).

(ii) The supplements of line-beginnings are all guess-work. But in 15 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲ]ν seems practically unavoidable, and I have used that as the standard; other restorations suggested, and lacunas indicated, conform to this, unless otherwise indicated.

9 (5) ] .εσαο .[ **2327**.

The change of subject is clear, and the allusion to *Il.* 1. 19 ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὐ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι. At the beginning, οἱ δὲ πόλι]ν would meet all requirements, except perhaps that of space (therefore τοὶ δέ MLW). αἰοίδιμος of places, *HHAp.* 299 (a temple), Pind. fr. 76. 1 SM (Athens); here 'proleptic' (cf. *Ibyc.* SLG 151. 2 and 6), the theme taken up in 11 ff.

10 (6) In **2327** only an acute accent, perhaps from ἀγέ, perhaps from μάχοι.

ἀγέμαχοι. Hesychius has ἡγέμαχος· πολέμαρχος; otherwise the word is not attested, except as a proper name. (i) Formation. EM 299. 43 (Herodian, *περὶ παθῶν* 2. 261. 6) shows ancient grammarians comparing such names as Ἡγέλοχος, and explaining the first element either as a reduction of ἡγεσι- or as deriving from ἡγω rather than ἡγῶ. (ii) Accent. The papyrus (how far the first hand?) writes an acute accent on epsilon, and cancels one on the second alpha. This conforms to the rule stated at Athen. 154E: derivatives of μάχη are proparoxytone (φιλόμαχος), derivatives of μάχεσθαι paroxytone (πυλαιμάχος). (iii) Vocalisation. I cannot explain the initial  $\tilde{\alpha}$ . Elsewhere the papyrus shows entirely epic or attic forms.

Δαναοί. The scribe, or a corrector, cancelled an acute accent on omicron. The accent would conform to normal rules, if -οί was intended (Chandler § 223). One could suggest (a) that the accent was actually written on the preceding alpha, and cancelled as incorrect: it is true that one might expect the accent on a diphthong to stand further to the right, but then it stands rather far to the right of alpha too; or (b) that the accent was cancelled as incorrect, because what stood in the text (originally, or as a result of correction) was Δαναοί[ε].

Below iota, and touching it, an oblique stroke similar to the diastole in 3. Yet here it cannot be a diastole, for this is the last word of the line. Anomalous serif?

Δαναοί nominative seems likely. It remains a question whether the phrase means 'the Greek leaders' or 'the Greeks who led the battle'; if the second, whether ἀγέμαχοι is a stock epithet, or distinguishes the officers from the rank and file. The same question touches the restoration of ]ωνων, for which (say) both Τρ]ώων and ἡρ]ώων could be considered. If ἀγέμαχοι could govern a genitive, we could think of ἀνδρῶν ἡρ]ώων, if not, of φέρτατοι ἡρ]ώων. If Τρ]ώων, the genitive might depend on a noun in apposition to 'city', or on an epithet 'victorious over'.

A quite different solution would be e.g. ὡς εἶξαν Τρ]ώων ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοί[ε].

11 (7) ἀθά]γατον. The trace is the foot of an upright, ending at line-level and turning to the left: this turn might represent a hook (serif) or a junction. ]ν looks likely; and on this basis Lobel suggested ἀθά]γατον, cf. Bacch. 13. 65 ἀθάνατον κλέος (so Plato, *Symp.* 208C and in a fourth-century Attic epitaph, CEG II 486. 2; ἀφθιτον is of course commoner, and often in Trojan contexts: *Il.* 9. 413, Sappho fr. 44. 4, Ibyc. 282 (a) 47, 'Ion', AP 7. 43. 4 = FGE p. 156).

As an alternative, Dr Hutchinson proposes ἐ]ρατόν (Pind., *Pyth.* 5. 73 ἐπήρατον κλέος); Dr H.-C. Günther ἀγῆ]ρατον (Eur., *IA* 567; the long alpha is first attested in the fourth century, CEG 548. 4, 721. 2, cf. 'Simon.', AP 7. 253. 4 = FGE 713). ]ρ cannot be excluded as a reading: cf. fr. 6. 3 for an eccentric form with short upright and hooked foot. But the trace, and the spacing, favour ν.

ἀν]δρός. The trace is an upright, with a join (projecting to the left) at the top. The joining stroke seems to descend, which would guarantee ν; but a horizontal (γ, π?) is not absolutely excluded.

12 (8) -π]λοκάμων. The Muses are called ἰο-, καλλι- and ἔρασι-πλόκαμοι (Theogn. 250, Pind., *Pyth.* 1. 1, *PMG* 1001; Eur., *IA* 1041; Procl., *Hymn.* 1. 44), and no doubt many other capillary compliments. It seems inevitable to write Πιερίδ]ων in agreement.

11–12 (7–8) The two verbs show that we must reconstruct at least two clauses.

The first has κλέος as its subject. I have not found the simple χέειν so used, though the parallel of χέειν αὐδῆν can be adduced (fame might reasonably be seen as 'poured out' like a libation, or 'heaped up' like a grave-mound?): ἐπιχέειν (θρήνον Pind., *Isthm.* 8. 58, the image of the libation?) or καταχέειν (μὴ σφῶϊν ἐλεγχέειν καταχέειν *Il.* 23. 408) might be easier. We have also to provide a connection with the heroes who go before. Mr Lobel proposed a supplement which meets both needs: οἶσι κατ' ἀθά]γατον κέχυται κλέος. After that, ἔκητι (provided by **2327**) requires a genitive, and so I supply ἀν]δρός]; equally possible ἀ]έκητι, but I do not see what could precede. This is the Χίος ἀνήρ (Simon. fr. 8. 1 W, if indeed it is Simonides, see on fr. 26 below). The line balances and contrasts ἀθά]γατον and ἀν]δρός]: immortal fame depends on (mortal) man. This contrast confirms ἀθά]γατον as the right restoration. It is itself reinforced by the use of ἔκητι: in Homer (*Od.*) the word is used only of gods, and so elsewhere in older poetry (Hes., *Op.* 4; Archil. 193. 2; Alc. 59(a)); Pindar and Bacchylides join it with the names of gods and with abstract nouns; the earliest example I can find, in which it applies to a human agent, is Eur., *Hec.* 1198.

If this is right, Homer will be the natural subject of δέξατο, and the expected object must follow in 13; that is confirmed if, as seems likely, we recognise a high stop (sentence-end) after ]θειην. Thus: ὅς ποτ' (παρ'?) ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ]ων / [πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην. The last phrase Homeric (*Od.* 11. 507 and elsewhere).

13 (9) ὄπ[λότερ]οικιν. Dr Hutchinson's brilliant supplement is made certain, now that **2327** has contributed the word-end. The word normally means 'younger' within a group; in the sense 'of a later generation', the first examples have so far been Hellenistic (though the first line of *Erigonoi* comes close, fr. 1 p. 30 Bern., p. 26 D.). See Theoc. 16. 46 and Gow's note. But in fact Theocritus is clearly recalling our passage: 16. 34 ff. Antiochus and Aleuas, Scopadae and Creondae, would be forgotten εἰ μὴ θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήϊος αἰόλα φωνέων / βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστούς / ὀπλοτέροις; 48 ff. similarly the exploits of the Trojan War would be forgotten but for Ἰάονος ἀνδρὸς ἀοιδαί. Theocritus understood ἐπώνυμον as equivalent to ὀνομαστόν, as the context in Simonides certainly suggests. I have found no parallel for this usage.

14 (10) Since the next line is visibly a new start, we must fit in a verb here to match Theocritus' θῆκ' ποίησ' or the like?

ἤμ]ιθέων, 'not a completely satisfactory interpretation of the first ink', Lobel. Certainly the dispersed bits are rather wide for the top of an upright, and might rather belong to a descending oblique; on the other hand, the back of α, or (say) the right hand side of a cramped ν, would be expected to show on the apparently undamaged surface to the left of θ. In the Trojan context, this *vox propria* is hard to resist. Materials are collected in West's note on Hes., *Op.* 160: note *Il.* 12. 23 ἤμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν (the heroes who had fallen in the war — looking back from after the destruction of Troy); Hes., *Op.* 159 f. ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται / ἤμιθεοι, προτέρη γενεή (killed at Thebes and Troy); in similar context fr. 204. 100, Alc. 42. 13 (specifically Achilles), Bacch. 13. 155. **2327** carries the marginal note ηρω[, i.e. ἡρώ[ων as gloss or possibly as variant.

ὠκύμορον: in *Il.* only of Achilles, except at 15. 441 (arrows); in *Od.* of the suitors (22. 75 arrows). The word is otherwise rare in early poetry (Bacch. 5. 141; Emped. B 2. 4); not in literary or epigraphic epitaphs before the third century (Anyte, AP 7. 486 etc.); not in tragedy.

γενεά[ν: α[ seems the most obvious interpretation of the high oblique trace, but perhaps η[ should not be excluded, cf. the eccentric form in fr. 2. 6 ], ης.

Achilles' epithet is transferred to the whole generation. That the ἤμιθεοι in general did not reach old age Simonides apparently stated in one of the *Θρήνοι* (PMG 523; corrupt, but if the context was consolatory the gist is presumably 'did not reach old age' rather than 'reached old age only after a life of troubles').

15 (11) ἀλλὰ εὐ μὲ]ν νῦν looks virtually certain. This combination seven times in *Il.*, once in *Od.* (and according to TLG, otherwise only at AR 1. 303), always with the imperative; texts normally write νῦν, some ancient scholars chose νυν, see schol. on *Il.* 1. 421. Dr Hutchinson notes that καὶ εὐ μὲν οὖ]ν represents a possible, but unattractive, alternative: awkward with νῦν, and poorly attested (Denniston 479 gives no exact parallel, and TLG finds only two examples of this exact phrase—in Origen).

θεῆς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ: Lobel's supplement seems unavoidable: note (i) *Μαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱέ* HHMerc 550 and (ii) *θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα* *Od.* 11. 631. (i) represents a common enough line-end (otherwise nominative or accusative): the mother is Leto in HHAp. 182 etc., Maia in HHMerc 89, 550, Semele at HH 7. 1, Gaia at *Od.* 11. 576. Apart from Tityus, son of Gaia, the offspring are all gods themselves. Given that, and the hymnic context, it would be tempting to interpret this line of Apollo, who has played some part in the poem (4). This assumes, reasonably, that Leto could qualify as θεά. But the idea founders on *Νηρέος*, which follows so closely that we can hardly attach it to a different subject. The conjunction points rather to Achilles, son of Thetis (*θεὰ Θέτις* *Il.* 15. 76) and grandson of Nereus: already in the background of 1-4, and hinted at by ὠκύμορον in the line before.

16-18 (12-14) Mr Lobel suggested that **2327** fr. 28 contained line-beginnings (to judge from the size of the initial letters), and that these corresponded to the ends in fr. 27 i 8-10, our lines 16-18; they are so printed in Adesp. El. 56 West. If this were right, our freedom of action would be limited by the knowledge that 16 began with φρ. [, 17 with τρλ[. But I doubt whether it is safe to place such small scraps at so great a distance. Certainly I have thought of no suitable supplement for 16; on 17 see the note there.

16 (12) There is more than one way in which the relationship could have been expressed. We could write ] ἀλίου, and compare the common Homeric use of ἀλιος γέρων in reference to Nereus; but also εἰν]αλίου, cf. Aristoph., *Thes.* 325, Orph. H. 24. 1. The phrase, as Mr Lobel noted, might continue the description either of Thetis (*κούρης εἰν]αλίου*) or of Achilles himself (*υἱών' εἰν]αλίου*, or, with anaphora, *ἔκγονε χαῖρ'* ἀλίου).

17 (13) ε' is most likely to be the pronoun. We then need a verb to govern it, and a vocative to explain it (since *αὐτὰρ ἐγώ* excludes a reference back to Achilles). The vocative is supplied by **2327**, *Μούσα*; before that, ]ε, possibly an imperative, more probably an epithet which will occupy most and perhaps all of the



three or four syllables missing after ἐμοί (the trace excludes ἐμοίς[: it is of π, or possibly γε). The verb must then stand at the beginning, or follow in 19: if the former, e.g. κικλήσκω] ε'. (Or, if **2327** fr. 28 is placed here, τολ[μήσω]. But the placing is doubtful, see on 16–18; and the verb would imply an infinitive in 18, which in turn makes the supplement there more difficult, see p. 34.) Among attested epithets, παρθέν]ε (Emped. 3. 3 DK) leaves a gap awkward to fill; π[ολυποίκιλ]ε, even if otherwise plausible (Orph. H. 76. 11), looks too long for the estimated space (but the estimate is more than usually fallible, see 9 ff. note). π[ολυ- seems likely enough: e.g. π[ολυώνυμ]ε? The sense may then be complete within the line, with ἐμοί depending on ἐπικούρον: Timoth. PMG 791. 204 ἐμοίς ἔλθ' ἐπί νυρος ὕμνοις, ἴηιε Παιάν.

18 (14) ] εὐχομένω[, the trace apparently the upper part of an upright; ω might be υ. It is tempting, in this context, to look for a dative: the pattern as in Theogn. 13 εὐχομένω μοι κλυθι (Artemis), Solon 13. 2 W Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένω (both beginning of poems); cf. Emped. 131. 3 DK εὐχομένω νῦν αὐτε παρίστατο, Καλλιόπεια κτλ. But εὐχομένω]ν cannot be excluded (PMG 1018(b) 3 εὐχομένων ἐπακούσατ'; Ant. Thess., AP 9. 428. 5 f.; Orph. H. 28. 11 etc.); and see below for the possible combination with fr. 2.

**2327** preserves a marginal note περ α<sup>μ</sup>. The second element could plausibly be taken as ἀμ(φότεροι), i.e. Apion and Nicanor, the two scholars cited elsewhere in the marginalia; so K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* 5. The first element should then be a variant.

19 (15) ] φρονακ[ . . . . . ], δης, the first trace perhaps the upper part of an upright, the second an upright. One guess would be μελ]ίφρονα κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς. For the adjective, cf. Pind. fr. 122. 14 μελίφρονος ... σκολίου. For κόσμον, cf. (apart from fr. 27. 7 below) Solon 1. 2 W, Parmen. 8. 52 DK κ. ἐπέων, Pind. fr. 194. 3 κ. λόγων; especially HHBacch. 59 κοσμεῖν ... ἀοιδῆν, and Orph. fr. 14 (another address to the Muses?) ἔκτη δ' ἐν γενεᾷ καταπαύσατε κόσμον ἀοιδῆς (so quoted by Plato, *Phileb.* 66 C: Plu., *Mor.* 391E has θυμόν in all MSS).

15–19 (11–15) χαίρε ... αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κτλ. The pattern is familiar from the Homeric Hymns: HHApoll. 545 f. καὶ εὖ μὲν οὕτω χαίρε, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς νιέ· | αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομαι ἀοιδῆς. For the assumption that this, and the parallel formula σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον, represent the rhapsode's transition from hymn to epic recitation, see Kranz, *Rh. Mus.* 104 (1961) 11 f.; Richardson on HHCer 495. Later, certainly, adaptations of these formulae could serve as the beginning of a poem (Xenoph. 7 W), or in hellenistic poetry as the end of a book (Call. fr. 112. 8 f.) or of a poem (cf. Posidippus SH 705. 21, with Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* II 185 f.). Here the formula of closing leads on to a formula of beginning, the invocation of the Muse. But there is no clear divide: the formulae are integrated, both in syntax and in line-structure. I assume therefore that we have here a transition, not from one poem to another, but from one section to another within a single poem.

This argument is important. If the next section concerns the Persian War (see below), and if that continues the same poem, then we can assume a set of formal parallels:

(i) The first section parallels the Homeric Hymn, the second the Epic which followed it. But, very strikingly, the 'epic' takes the form of an elegy, the 'hymn' addresses Achilles. For Achilles as a divinity see H. Hommel, *Der Gott Achilleus* (1980): he is already addressed with a hymn-formula in Alc. 354 LP; and that must connect with the stories of his being transported to various versions of the Islands of the Blessed (Leuke: *Aethiopsis* arg. p. 69 Bern. p. 47 D., cf. Pind., *Nem.* 4. 49 f., Eur., *Androm.* 1260–2; μακάρων νῆσοι Pind., *Ol.* 2. 71 ff., PMG 894 etc.) (cf. *CPh* 83 (1988) 1 ff.); Simonides represented him married to Medea in Elysium (PMG 558). Among cults note Paus. 3. 20. 8, a temple of Achilles as you leave Sparta by the Arcadian road: ephebes sacrifice to him.

(ii) The Trojan War serves as prelude to the Persian War, with clear implications—the scale of the war, the battle of East and West (Herodotus 1. 5. 1), a possible parallel between Achilles and Pausanias.

(iii) Homer secured the immortality of the heroes of Troy; it is now for Simonides to immortalise the Persian War. Simonides quotes Homer as an authority in PMG 564; and see on fr. 26. 13 ff.

20 ff. (16 ff.) Fr. 1 breaks off; **2327** fr. 27 i preserves only scattered line-ends, but then, to the right, some beginnings from the next column (= Adesp. El. 58 W). Here the poet speaks (13–15) of Medes and Persians, of the sons of Dorus and (...) Heracles; then ἐς πεδίου. The juxtaposition suggests battle; and 'plain' suggests battle on land. We know that Simonides wrote about the battle of Plataea, and in elegiacs, from fr. 10–11 W; that he wrote an ἐλεγείον about the battle of Marathon is implied by the *Vita Aeschylī* (quoted at fr. 9 W). The mention of Dorians clearly favours Plataea; and indeed a poem about Plataea certainly figured in this collection, for **3965** fr. 2 narrates the march of the Spartan army to Eleusis, and

fr. 5 coincides with fr. 11 W. I go on to consider how the pieces might fit, if they do belong to the same poem. But it must be emphasised that the general argument is very fragile. We have no systematic account of Simonides' output: he may have dealt with other land battles of the Persian wars; he might have mentioned the land-operation at Thermopylae as background in the attested poem on the Battle of Artemisium (see fr. 20 below).

A preliminary question concerns the format of the two manuscripts.

We know that one and the same verse was top of column in **2327** fr. 4, and third line of column in **3965** fr. 27. But we have no other evidence about the relative formats.

We know that **2327** had a column of at least 24 lines (since **2327** fr. 1, a column-top, must belong to the same column as fr. 27 i); and that **3965** had a column of at least 24 lines (fr. 2; fr. 19).

How much more might be expected? Since the papyri are of the second century, we need not expect a small format: from the figures collected by Bell, *Books and Readers*<sup>2</sup> 50 f. and Cavallo, *Libri Scribi Scrittura a Ercolano* 14 f. and 48, a roll-height of 25 cm would be normal, 30 cm exceptional. Deducting for the upper and lower margins, we could think that in **2327** a maximum of 21–26 cm would be available for writing, giving a column of 29 to 36 lines; in **3965** a maximum of 18–23 cm, a column of 38–49 lines. I emphasise that these sums are very chancy, and for illustration only.

In **2327**, then, we can reckon with a gap, between the invocation (fr. 27 i 9) and the scene with Medes and Persians (ii 13 ff.), of at least 27 lines, and possibly as many as 32–39 lines, of which 7 survive as ends at the foot of col. i, and 7 as broken text above col. ii 13.

If **2327** ii represents Persians and Greeks encountering at Plataea, **3965** fr. 2, which certainly describes the preliminaries of this campaign, should belong in the gap. Since it has 25 lines, it might just fit without overlapping any of the fragmentary verses preserved in **2327**.

This means also that **3965** fr. 2 followed relatively soon after fr. 1: that is, probably either (a) below it in the same column or (b) in the next column. If (a), the column would have at least 37 lines, acceptable under the dubious estimate above.

If fr. 21 too stood in the same column (see note there), the total rises to 54 lines.

#### Fr. 2

The arguments above suggest that fr. 2 followed close on fr. 1. Mr Lobel did indeed arrange them to make a single column, and in such a way that fr. 1. 18 would continue fr. 2. 1. This proposal can be judged on two criteria:

(i) The fibres. The front (horizontal) fibres neither confirm nor deny. The sheet-join on the extreme right of fr. 2 provides no evidence, since the corresponding area of fr. 1 is lost. The back (vertical) fibres give no support either, so far as I see; but Dr Coles thinks that they do not exclude this placing.

(ii) The supplements. The combination of fr. 1 and 2 and **2327** fr. 27 i looks like this:

- υ υ αν]θρώπω   γ εὐχομένω[	
- υ υ -] . . και τόνδ[ε μελ]ίφρονα κ[όμον ἀο]ιδῆς	2 + 19
ἤμετ]έρης, ἵνα τις [ . . . ] . . . . . [	
- υ υ ] γ οι Σπαρτ[	]αρ
- υ ] αμνν[ ] . . [	]ω[
- υ υ ] . ης ελαθ[	] γ οὐρανῶ . [ ] . c
- υ υ α] γ θρωπω . [ ] . . αθανατο	7 + 24

To these elements add (a) the marginal note  $\pi\epsilon\rho\ \alpha^\mu$  in **2327** fr. 27, at a level corresponding to 1 + 18; (b) **2327** fr. 29, a scrap with 1 ]δξ[ , 2 ]εκρ[ , which Mr Lobel located to left of lines 5 + 22 and 6 + 23; (c) the marginal note in **2327** fr. 27, at a level corresponding to line 7 + 24, ]α<sup>ν</sup> εν ανθρωπ[ (the placing may be confirmed by this coincidence in forms of *ἀνθρωπος*; but of course the word is common, cf. fr. 2. 1, and fr. 9. 5, where ]ποις and ]ων are variants). (b) must be treated with caution: it seems to me again that, with so small a scrap, the fibres cannot prove a placing.

As to the horizontal distance between fr. 1 and 2: if the back fibres are no guide, then the relative placing depends on the restoration of 1 + 18 (see below). On this basis, of the supplements printed, that in

19 [εμελ] is a letter too long; that at the beginning of 20 conforms exactly to the margin as estimated for fr. 1. 15.

Now for the detail:

1 + 18 ]θρωπω[ ] ευχομενω[, no doubt ἀν]θρώπων εὐχομένω[ν υ υ υ υ-. The ink interpreted as ν would equally suit ι or even the right-hand side of ω. But hiatus at the diaeresis of the pentameter is very rare, even in inscriptional epigrams (Page, *Epigrams of Rufinus* p. 31; FGE p. 200 on 'Simon.' AP 7. 251; CEG II 696. 3 note), and not to be created when the reading is doubtful.

How then to attach this genitive phrase to what precedes in 17, the invocation of the Muse? It might depend on a noun in apposition to ἐπικούρον or Μοῦσα, with the sense 'saviour' or the like. It might more neatly belong to a dependent clause, of the pattern εἴ τί ποτ' ἀν]θρώπων εὐχομένω[ν ἀΐεις: notice 19 καὶ (another favour). That leaves no room for the sense to spill over from the hexameter, as a junction with 2327 fr. 28 might require (fr. 1. 17 note).

This still does not account for the marginal (variant) περ. MLW therefore proposes, most elegantly, that Simonides wrote εἶπερ γ' ἀν]θρώπων εὐχομένω[ν μέλαι; in 2327 the text will have offered περι (and so perhaps in 3965, to judge from the spacing), the margin περ as correction. He notes a parallel for the general sense in Emped. B 131.

2 + 19 Perhaps ἔντυνο]ν καὶ τόνδ[ε μελ]ίφρονα κ[ό]σμον ἀο]ιδῆς. For ἔντυνο]ν cf. HH 6. 20 (but there preceding the αὐτὰρ ἐγώ); sense recommends an imperative, and the space a short one (even this may be a little long). μελ] too long; δα]ίφρονα MLW.

3 + 20 ἤμετ]έρης. If the trace is rightly seen as the end of a horizontal, ε suits well; among many possibilities (γλυκ]ερός, μακροτ]έρης etc.), this supplement matches the margin of fr. 1. 15 (11) above.

I guess the sense to be ἵνα τις μνήσεται' ἐν ὀψιγόνους (ἐκκομένους) / ἀνδρῶ]ν κτλ. See especially *Od.* 1. 302 ἵνα τις σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἐὺ εἴπη. Trace and space would allow [μνησ]ετ'; but I can make nothing of what follows.

4 f. + 21 f. After ]ν, a spot of ink on the line, too decisive to be accidental: therefore a low point. This might indicate a minor break in syntax or simply clarify the articulation; in either case, there must be word end before οί. If we recognise Σπαρτ], οί makes a word; I don't know whether the absence of diacritics points to the article or to the relative (probably not to the pronoun). A guess: ἀνδρῶ]ν οἱ Σπάρτ]ης ὄρησαν καρτερὸν ἄλκ]αρ, or Σπάρτ]ηι --- δούλιον ἡμ]αρ. If the latter, and if ἀμυνόμ]εν- is recognised in 5, MLW suggests: Σπάρτ]ηι τε καὶ Ἑλλάδι δούλιον ἡμ]αρ / ἔσχον] ἀμυνόμ]ενοι μῆ τιν' ἰδεῖν φανερ]ῶ[ς, after 'Simonid.' *Epigr.* (FGE) xvi, xx (a) 4.

6 + 23 A guess in context: οὐδ' ἄρε]τῆς ἐλάθ]οντο, φάτις δ' ἔχε]ν οὐρανομ]ήκ]ης. (ἔχε]ν MLW. οὐρανομ]ήκ]ης I. C. Rutherford: μ seems to suit the trace better than any likely case-ending of οὐρανό; ]η on 2327, faded traces, apparently a horizontal at half-height followed by an upright, 'ει or η suggested'; the spacing, on the very rough calculation possible, seems to suit.) For the beginning cf. *Il.* 16. 357 λάθοντο ... ἄλκ]ης, Aesch., *Suppl.* 731 ἄλκ]ης λαθέσθαι; for the end, epigram ap. Athen. I 19C (FGE p. 419), Aristoph., *Nub.* 460-1 κλέος οὐρανόμηκες.

7 + 24 α]νθρωπω. [ seems likely, although the traces are much damaged.

2327 preserves only the marginal note ]α' εν ανθρωπ]. The second character is raised to show abbreviation. The whole note might be a variant, or a comment; or it might contain parts of each. One approach: -αν( ) εν ανθρωπ]οις variant, text originally εν ἀ]νθρώπωνι or ἐπ' ἀ]νθρώπων. Another: α' represents ἀντι τοῦ, as often (McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri & Ostraca* 7), the gloss then follows.

At the end, apparently, ] . ἀθανατο< > (or -α θανατο< >), but I do not see where that could lead). If the same line combined 'men' and 'immortal', the reference might be (as is inferred for the line before) to Fame: Tyrt. 12. 31 f. οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ, / ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἐὼν γίνεται ἀθάνατος. For the damaged letters, consider (a) ]αρ (or ]αρ'); (b) ]ερ (or ]ερ'); (c) ]αι. Under (b), we could think of περ, ὑπέρ, ἄτερ (possible leads are offered by *Il.* 17. 327 ὑπέρ θεόν, Pind., *Pyth.* 5. 76 οὐ θεῶν ἄτερ). (c) is less attractive palaeographically, for the iota would be unusually long and hooked; but gives scope for a verb (thus καὶ κλέος ἀ]νθρώπων [ἔσσει]αι ἀθάνατο<ν> MLW, the genitive explained as ἐν ἀνθρώπ]οις).

8 ff. (25 ff.) Sparta was mentioned above in 4 + 21; then, it is conjectured, words about their valour and immortal fame. 8 ff. describe the march of the Spartan army. Note (a) that there are no signs of a catalogue (tribes, individual names, districts of Laconia); (b) that nothing is said about the Spartan delay and their covert departure, as Herodotus will depict it (9. 10), or about their march along the Eurotas valley (Gomme & others on Thuc. 5. 64. 3), for which line 8 (25) is almost misleading.



8 (25) *Εὐ]ρώταν κα[ὶ Σπάρτη]ς ἄστν λιπόντ[ε]*: suppl. Lobel, who compared Theogn. 785 *Σπάρτην τ' Εὐρώτα δονακοτρόφου ἀγλαὸν ἄστν*, cf. 1088; Eurotas represents its country, as later in CEG II 632. 4 (after the battle of Leuctra) *οὐ τὸν ἀπ' Εὐρώτα δείσας στόλον*. An alternative, as Professor R. L. Fowler points out, would be *κα[ὶ εὐκλεέ]ς ἄστν* or the like. For the genitive pattern, see *Il.* 14. 281 *τῷ βήτην Λήμνου τε καὶ Ἴμβρου ἄστν λιπόντε* (*v.l.* *λιπόντες*); cf. Mimn. 9. 1 *Πύλον Νηληϊὸν ἄστν λιπόντες*.

These parallels confirm what is in any case likely, that we should write *λιπόντ[ε]* here. If the subject is 11 (28) *ἡγεμόνες*, the finite verb will have come at the beginning of 9 (26) or 11 (28): in 9 e.g. *ἐξέλασαν*, cf. Hdt 9. 13. 3, *ἐξήλθον* (Fowler), cf. 9. 10. 3, *ῶρμησαν* (MLW).

9 (26) *Ζηνός*: both sons of Zeus. This version was apparently found also in 'Hesiod' (fr. 24 MW), and is implied by the title *Dioskouroi*, which goes back at least to the sixth century (CEG I 373, Laconia, 391, 427; a Thera graffito, IG XII iii 359, is tentatively assigned to the seventh). Other versions made them both sons of Tyndareus (*Od.* 11. 298 f.), or one son of each (implied in *Cypria* fr. 8 B = 6 D.).

*ἵπποδάμοις*: normally Castor is the horse-tamer (*Il.* 3. 237 etc.). But both tame in Alcman PMG 2 (i) and (iv); and of course both ride (Alcaeus 34. 5 f. LP, HH 33. 18), and appear with their horses in art (*LIMC* III i 569). A Spartan trait?

Both brothers accompany the army. For the practice, see Hdt 5. 75. 2, *ἐπικλητοὶ εφί ἐόντες εἶποντο*. Herodotus says that, after the quarrel between Cleomenes and Demaratus, only one king was allowed to go with the army, and accordingly only one Tyndarid. On this expedition there was indeed only one king, Pleistarchus (Hdt 9. 10. 2); but the Tyndarid rule was broken (or Herodotus, or Simonides, got it wrong).

The poem provides no evidence whether the Tyndarids (and indeed Menelaus, 10) 'followed' in some physical form, and if so in what: see Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* III (1979) 14 f.

10 (27) ] *ε ἦρωσι*: an upright on the edge, well-suited to iota. Two possible patterns of restoration: (i) *ἀγνοάτο]ε ἦρωσι*, in apposition (*Τυνδαρίδα]ε* or *-δη]ε*), cf. PMG 510, MLW); (ii) *κύν τ' ἄλλο]ε ἦρωσι*. The Spartans had other 'heroes' in plenty (Robert Parker in Anton Powell, *Classical Sparta* (1989) 147 f.): but if Menelaus and the Dioscuri shared a cult (Alcman PMG 7. 6 ff., see below), we may prefer (i). Hdt 8. 143. 2 (the Athenian reply to Mardonius) *θεοῖσι ... πίνουσι ... καὶ τοῖς ἦρωσι*.

*εὐρυβίη*: the adjective (not Homeric) commonly applies to marine deities (West on Hes., *Theog.* 239); of Zeus Bacch. 11. 52 (as corrected). HHCer 294 already uses it of a mythical king (Celeus); similarly in Pindar of Ajax, Neoptolemus etc. Was the epithet here conventional, or did it make some point? Probably not a glance at the name of Pausanias' colleague Euryanax (still less, as Professor Lewis notes, at Eurybiadas, the Spartan commander at Artemisium). As a matter of political propaganda, the Spartans might well insist on the 'wide sway' of Menelaus, by way of justifying their own claims to Laconia and Messenia (P. Cartledge, *Agésilas* 339). But that was an earlier stage; by the fifth century, it is normally assumed, Agamemnon had taken his place.

*Μενελάω]ε*: Sparta is Menelaus' kingdom, *Il.* 2. 582, and that is where Telemachus goes to find him, *Od.* 1. 285. A fragmentary commentary on Alcman, PMG 7. 6 ff., seems to refer to a cult of Menelaus with the Dioscuri at Therapnae; other bits of evidence refer to a temple at Therapnae (Alcman PMG 14 (b)), a temple of the Dioscuri (Alcman PMG 2 (iii) and (iv)), a temple of Helen at Therapnae (Hdt 6. 61. 3), a temple of Menelaus at Therapnae where Menelaus and Helen are buried (Paus. 3. 19. 9). The site of one temple has been identified on a bluff above the Eurotas, with a monumental building of late vii/early vi, largely redesigned and rebuilt in early v; it has produced bronzes dedicated to Helen, of vii and vi, and an early v stele inscribed to Menelaus (SEG 26. 457-9, cf. 28. 407).

11 (28) ] *ώιης*: the trace is an indeterminate point at mid-height. I do not know why the accent was placed: simply because of the ionic ending? or evidence of a *recherché* word? Easiest would be *πατ]ρώιης*: *γῆ, γαῖα πατρώια* is familiar (*Il.* 13. 188, Theogn. 888, 1210, CEG 66. 2 etc.); *πόλις πατρώια* Aesch., *Septem* 582 etc.

*ἡγεμόνες*: a (deliberately?) unspecific term: Hdt 9. 10. 2 *ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου*, but the actual commander was his uncle and guardian Pausanias (13), who coopted a kinsman Euryanax son of Dorieus; contrast Thuc. 1. 128. 7. Note the epitaph on Megistias, which Herodotus says was composed (or set up) by Simonides (AP 7. 228. 3; FGE p. 196), *οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν*; and the Oath of Plataea, as transmitted in Lycurgus, *Leocr.* 81, *οὐδ' ἐγκαταλείψω τοὺς ἡγεμόνας* (the inscriptional text, GHI II 204, has a more specific list of officers).

*πολεος*: *ω* has been written above the second *ο*. Next to it is the note *a<sup>π</sup>*, and below and to the right of that N with a vertical stroke written through it. 2327 cites the same two scholars: the former in the less

ambiguous form  $\alpha\pi\iota^{\omega}$  (i.e. the Apion, antisemite and *cymbalum mundi*, who taught at Rome under Tiberius and Claudius? see S. Neitzel, *Apions Γλώσσαι Ὀμηρικαί*), the latter in the same form  $N\iota(\quad)$ , i.e. Nicanor? (K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri & Ostraca* 63).

12 (29)  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \delta'\ \upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\omicron\ \text{Κλεομ[β][ρ]ότου}\ \xi\xi[\alpha]\gamma'$  ἄριστ[oc MLW, excellently for the traces. (At the end, Lobel had proposed  $\mu[\acute{\epsilon}]\gamma'$  ἄριστ[: 'not verifiable', as he noted, and it makes difficulties with what precedes.)

13 (30) ]α. .: apparently ]αγ. or ]ατ., the last trace anomalous. (i) Dr Rea proposes ἦγ]αγε, which would suit the sense in general, but would come awkwardly after  $\xi\xi[\alpha]\gamma'$ , if that is to be read in the line before. (ii) One could try to accommodate -]α τε Πανσανίης: pattern  $\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau'$  ἄριστεύων ἔργ]α τε? I do not see how to fit in the Heraclid ancestry ('Simon.', *Ephigr.* (FGE) xxxix). In any case, no space remains for Pleistarchus or Euryanax: in the same spirit, Pausanias put his name alone to the Delphic Dedication ('Simon.', *Ephigr.* (FGE) xvii (a)).

14 ff. (31 ff.) The army advances by way of Corinth, Megara (16?) and the Eleusinian plain (19?), where the Athenians (20) join them.

Our sources for the campaign are these: (i) Hdt. 9. 10-19; (ii) Plutarch, *Aristides* 10. 7-21, *de Herodoti Malignitate* 872D (quoting Simonides fr. 10-11 W); (iii) Diodorus 11. 29-33.

As far as concerns the march itself, Herodotus gives a detailed and circumstantial account: 9. 10. 1 5000 Spartiates, under Pausanias, set out by night and (11. 2) march via Orestheum; ambassadors and 5000 chosen *periōikoi* follow (11. 3). 14. 1 Mardonius hears that another force of 1000 Lacedaemonians has reached Megara; he sets out to attack them, but retreats on news  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\epsilon\alpha\nu\ \omicron\acute{\iota}\ \text{Ἕλληνας}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \text{Ἴσθμῳ}$ . 19. 1 Lacedaemonians arrive at Isthmus and camp;  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\ \lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\ \text{Πελοποννήσιοι}\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\ \eta\eta\delta\alpha\nu\epsilon$  join them. (The order of battle, 28. 2 ff., shows which Peloponnesians; 77 the Eleans and Mantineans arrive late.) 19. 2 All of them advance from the Isthmus to Eleusis. Then  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\omicron$ , Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Καλαμίνος, συμμειγνότες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. Together they reach Erythrae.

Plutarch (*Aristid.* 10. 7) takes his account of the Spartan departure from Herodotus; but then represents the Athenians as marching straight to Plataea, where Pausanias and his Spartiates joined them,  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\ \text{Ἑλλήνων}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ . Diodorus, more vaguely still, has the Hellenes assemble at the Isthmus, and then march to Boeotia via Cithaeron; at this point it turns out that the army includes the Athenians (11. 29).

14 (31) ἐπικλέα: (i) the word has so far appeared first in AR 4. 1472 ἐπικλέες ἄστν πολίττας, then GVI 1076. 3 (epitaph for a Ptolemaic general, ii BC) Πραξαγόρας δ' ὄνομ' ἔσχον ἐπικλέες; add Opp., *H.* 1. 340, 2. 130 (with the dative, 'named from'). (ii) The form (used also by Oppian) represents -κλέα: this will be on the analogy of epic forms like *δυκκλέα* (*Il.* 2. 115) and *ἀκλέα* (*Od.* 4. 728), however to be explained (Schwyzer I 252; Chantraine, *Gramm. Hom.* I 74).

ἔργα: given the geographical detail which follows, this is more likely to mean 'works' than 'deeds', and presumably 'agricultural works', i.e. Corinthian territory: *Od.* 14. 344 ... Ἰθάκης εὐδειέλου ἔργ' ἀφίκοντο, *Od.* 2. 328 Ἐφύρην (identified by some as Corinth) ... πείριαν ἄρουραν. ἐπικλέα may be more than generic:  $\epsilon\acute{\eta}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\acute{\xi}\ \text{Κορίνθου}\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \text{Κικυώνος}$  (Zenob., *Cent.* 3. 57); *agrum* ... *nobilissimae fertilitatis* Livy 27. 31. 1.

15 (32) The phrase Tyrt. 12. 7 W; *Cypria* fr. 15. 3 f. B (13. 3 f. D)  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu\ / \text{T.} [-\omicron\upsilon\ \text{codd.}] \text{Π}$ . The reference might be to a town (Pisa?) especially connected with Pelops; or to the Peloponnesians in general (so Tyrt. 2. 15). If the latter, we could connect it (i) with the Spartan army which left it behind or (ii) with the other Peloponnesians who, according to Herodotus, joined the Spartans at the Isthmus (9. 19. 1). It would be relevant to know where the Peloponnesians ended. In later times, it included Corinth: the boundary stone reported by Strabo (3. 5. 5, 9. 1. 6 f.) and Plutarch (*Theb.* 25. 4) stood on the boundary with the Megarid. The same seems to be implied by Hdt 8. 72: the Corinthians are among those who build the Isthmus wall. It follows that Peloponnesians and Isthmus are not mutually exclusive.

14-15 (31-2) Accordingly we might reconstruct:  $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\ \delta'\ \text{Ἴκοντ'}$  (MLW) Ἴσθμὸ]ν  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha\ \text{Κορίνθου}$ , / (i)  $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\ \delta'\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ ] ( $\nu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\ \tau'$  ἔσχατην, cf. *Od.* 5. 238, MLW) *Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος* or (ii)  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\nu\ \delta'$  αὐτοῖσι υἱοῖ] *Τανταλίδεω Πέλοπος*. (ii) will not do as it stands; at least, *Πελοπίδαι* normally refers only to the house of Atreus. But I cannot think of anything more plausible. Thus it may be better to adopt pattern (i), and bring in the extra Peloponnesians at 17.

16 ff. (33 ff.) Herodotus represents the army as marching from the Isthmus to Eleusis, where the Athenians joined them. If Athenians are rightly identified in 20 f., then 19 *πεδίον* may well refer to the Eleusinian plain. That leaves 16 *πόλις* as an intermediate stage. Megara has clear geographical claims, though Herodotus does not mention it here (but 3000 Megarians take part in the battle, 9. 21. 1, 9. 28. 6).



16 (33) Νίξου πόλιν, perhaps, if we have reached Megara (the same phrase Eur., *Herc.* 954; a similar paraphrase in 20?).

ἐνθαπερ ὦ[: a space and a bold high stop after πόλιν marks the syntax; another high point after περ (too clear to be accidental) presumably marks the word-division; then above omega what looks more like a rough breathing, though that does not explain all the ink, than a suprascript letter (η<sup>2</sup>), for which more ink would be needed.

17 (34) *Il.* 18. 220 (Hector) κέκλυτε, μυρία φύλα περικτιόνων ἐπικούρων. In the context of Herodotus' narrative, we could look for a reference (i) to the περίοικοι who set out the day after Pausanias, and constituted half the Spartan force (9. 11. 3, 28. 2); (ii) to the other Peloponnesians who joined the Spartans at the Isthmus (9. 19. 1); (iii) to the Megarians who (presumably) joined up at Megara.

16–17 (33–4) Reconstruction depends in part on the syntax of 18. There we could write (i) πεποιθότες, οἱ δέ or (ii) πεποιθότες οἴδε. (i) suits a familiar pattern; we might expect a high point to mark the break, and perhaps there was one, but I cannot confirm it. If (i) is right, πεποιθότες will probably continue the syntax of 16 f., linked either (a) to the subject of the main sentence (the ἡγεμόνες or their men) or (b) to the subject of the relative clause. If (b), we must suppose a masculine plural subject, so that φύλα would be nominative in apposition (or vocative or accusative). The rough breathing (if rightly read) on omega adds a limiting element. We need a verb somewhere, but ὦ[ρμων has no obvious attractions (hardly ὦ[ρμεον, for the Athenians seem to come later, and in any case there is no room to introduce Salamis); I do not see how to fit in part of ὦρη. One possible pattern: ἐνθαπερ ὦ[λλοι / ἦντησαν, μαχίμων] φύλα περικτιόνων; with οἱ ἄλλοι cf. Hdt 9. 19. 1 οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι. But I have no evidence that ancient editors would have distinguished this crasis with a rough breathing.

18 (35) πεποιθότες: trusting in their strength (*Il.* 12. 135) or the gods (*Od.* 9. 107) or the omens (cf. *Il.* 12. 256; Hdt 9. 19. 2 καλλιερησάντων)? Or, if these are the new arrivals rather than the whole army, in the Spartans (Hdt 9. 19. 1 ὀρώντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας)?

οἱ δέ, if so divided, might introduce a new sentence, or a new phrase with οἱ μὲν preceding. If the former, it might refer (i) to a group already mentioned; or (ii) to the groups combined; or (iii) to a new group (i.e. the Athenians). If the sign after πεδίον represents punctuation, that would tell against (iii); but see 19 note.

19 (36) ]ατον likely; but there is another point of ink on a straggling fibre to the left.

πεδίον: presumably the Thriasian plain (the plain of Asopus will play a large part in the battle, but that must be some way ahead: cf. above on 2327 fr. 27 ii 11).

After πεδίον, a short double dash. The same sign recurs at fr. 11. 9 (damaged), mid-line; and fr. 18. 10, line-end, and 11 (damaged but fairly secure), mid-line. It could hardly represent a strong stop, for that would not suit the metrical pattern in fr. 11. 9 and 18. 11. It could serve as a divider of words or word-groups (for single slashes so used, see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 144, LV 3812 5 note, *Miscellanea Roca-Puig* 184 f.); uneconomically, it seems to us, at line-end, though cf. LIII 3712. But I can produce no parallel. MLW suggests that it might serve as cross-reference to a marginal note.

18–19 (35–6) οἱ δέ συν[— / ἦλθον Ἐλευσίνος—]ατον πεδίον (the pentameter after Theogn. 784). At the beginning e.g. σύν[οπλοῖ, the whole army; σύν [αὐτοῖς MLW, the old contingents with the new? or the Athenians, looking forward to 20? ]ατον, epithet?: [γῆς ἐρ]ατόν MLW.

20 (37) Hex. ]διονος: Mr Lobel read ]δενος, but I think there is more ink than that; ]διενος could be considered, but what to make of it? There are clear temptations in Παν]δίονος, for the Athenians must appear shortly. Π. γῆ, πόλις Eur., *Hipp.* 26, *Suppl.* 562; or Π. παῖδες?

ἐξε[ . . . ]ντες: ἐξε[λάσα]ντες would suit the space, but there is a literal-minded difficulty: according to Herodotus, the Athenians sailed over from Salamis, so that 'sallied forth' seems an odd phrase to use. I can think of no suitable word for 'disembarking'. Perhaps the passive, πόλεως Παν]δίονος ἐξε[λαθέ]ντες?

21 (38) Pent. ] . οσαν . θε . [ . [ : at the beginning, a thick high horizontal trace, which might represent the right-hand end of a longer stroke, or perhaps a damaged top arc or a top of upright touching a horizontal to the right; then most likely π, but damaged surface to the left, so that ] . τς could also be considered. After αν, τ likely (the left-hand tip and possibly the foot); then what looks like the foot of an upright hooked to the right (rather than a full lower arc as of ε); after θε, what may be a lower left-hand arc above the base-line.

Together, this suggests ] . προς ἀντιθεο . . The final trace is oddly shaped and spaced. αντιθεος seems just possible, but sigma stands far to the right and leaves ink unexplained. Better for the spacing αντιθεο[ι]ς

(J. R. Rea), but one might expect the foot of [ι] to show. Possibly *αντιθεου*, but υ must be assumed to have its stem anomalously curved or eccentrically damaged.

This epic adjective would normally apply to mythic persons (not e.g. to the Athenian commander, Aristides). I am tempted to read *Κέκρο* [ο]πος *ἀντιθέου*, as part of a paraphrase for 'Athenians': so a fourth century monument on the Acropolis, CEG II 760, describes them as [δημο]ς ὅδε *αὐτόχθων ἀντιθέου Κέκροπος*. But once again, ]ο is not an obvious, though it is a possible, interpretation of the first trace.

22 (39) Hex. *δαμάσαντ*[εε υ -- likely as a pattern (the line would be unusually short, if it ended with τ[εε]). If the general structure has been rightly worked out, it will be some time before we reach the battlefield. Perhaps a look back to Artemisium or Salamis? 'Simon.', *Ephigr.* (FGE) xxiv *παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ... ναυμαχίᾳ δαμάσαντες κτλ.*

24 (41) Hex. -ω]νυμον α. [υ υ --? Among many possibilities, *εὐώ]νυμον* of omens (Hdt. 9. 19. 2), as Professor R. L. Fowler suggests.

In principle, the last line(s) of this fragment might overlap the first line(s) of 2327 fr. 27 ii, see above p. 33. But there are no obvious splices; and the poet may well have taken some space to move from Eleusis to the plain of Asopus (2327 fr. 27 ii 13 ff.).

### Fr. 3

Top of column. Mr Lobel considered whether it might belong above fr. 1, but saw no clear join and no match between the content and what can be inferred of fr. 1. 1 ff. as supplied by 2327.

In 4, *εὐανθέας* might scan (i) as four or (ii) as three syllables (the spelling does not exclude contraction, cf. 2327 fr. 2(a) ii 9 = Adesp. Eleg. 30. 9; West, *Studies* 82, 96). If (ii), *εὐανθείς* should either (a) begin the line or (b) stand in the second and third feet (Theogn. 1200). But (a) makes difficulties with the beginnings of 1 (which would project to the left) and 3 (what to supply in the space?); (b) might suit 3, whether as hexameter or pentameter (*ὑπένερθ'* elided), but does not look plausible in 1. I therefore accept (i), which makes 4 a hexameter with *εὐανθέας* before the bucolic break, and arrange the lines accordingly.

1 Pent. If 4 is rightly reconstructed, these letters should belong to the second half of the line. Thus (i) *ἀστέρα, γαστέρα καιν*[υ υ -, *ἀστέρας, γαστέρας καιν*[, ἀρν[υ υ -, or (ii) *πᾶς, φᾶς τέρας* etc. Bellies might have a place, if the context is sympotic (Theogn. 1000, Solon fr. 24. 4; a passing likeness to Aesch., *Ag.* 725 f.). Or *ἀστέρα* might refer to Sirius? (MLW).

2 Hex. -ει θεός ποιν. υ[ - υ υ --? The trace perhaps favours *ποινε* more than *ποινο*.

3 Pent. End, e.g. *γῆε*] *ὑπένερθε μ[ολών* (cf. Stes. PMG 221; Pind., *Nem.* 10. 87; Meleag. AP 7. 421. 7). If the context is sympotic, 'eat drink and be merry' would fit; but even then other senses could be made of *ὑπένερθε*, cf. Theogn. 843.

4 Hex., *εὐανθέας αλλο*[υ υ --? The adjective may describe wreaths (2327 fr. 2(a) ii 9 = Adesp. Eleg. 30; below p. 47), places (Theogn. 1200), abstracts (*γάμον* SLG 449. 7, *ὄλβον* etc. in Pindar); note also *Od.* 11. 320 *εὐανθείϊ λάχνη* (adolescence). *στεφάνους*] ... *ἄλλο*[ε?, cf. Xenoph. 1. 2 ff., MLW.

5 Pent. Presumably *παῖδ' ἐρατὸν* . [υ υ -. Pind., *Ol.* 10. 99 *παῖδ' ἐρατὸν δ' Ἀρχεστράτου*; Theogn. 1348 *παιδείης ... ἐρατῆς*.

6 Hex. The first aorist *ἐτρέφθη*ν is attested in Attic, and as a certain emendation in Theognis 379. This might continue 5, on the lines of Ibyc. PMG 288 (and 3538 fr. 1 i 6 f., on which see West, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 23 f.).

### Fr. 4

Line-beginnings. Mr Lobel wondered whether this might belong to the lower left-hand side of fr. 2. But neither the fibres nor the matter encourage this idea; and the line-spacing tells against it.

2 *μικγε*[ or *μικγο*[. Perhaps 1 should be read similarly *μικγ*[ (or *μ*] *ικγ*[), though I should have expected to see traces of the belly of μ, and other readings are certainly possible (*αιε*] MLW).

E.g. 1-2 *μικγ*[ε ... *μικγε* (to the slave who mixes the wine), 3-4 *ἐν* [μ *ἐν* ... *ἐν* δέ [ (amounts of wine and water): compare Anacreon PMG 356(a).

### Fr. 5

Mr Lobel noticed the coincidence with Simonides fr. 11 W, quoted by Plutarch (just after fr. 10 W) as Simonides' account of how the Corinthians conducted themselves at the battle of Plataea.

Fr. 7

Line-beginnings.

2 δῖω. [, δρω. [?

3 βαρβι[τ- rather than βαρβα[ρ-?

5-6 κερδ[, διπ[λ, cf. Sol. fr. 13. 73 f. (Lobel)?

Fr. 8

5 Διόνυκον [?

Fr. 9

5 E.g. ἀνθρώποις altered to -π]ων (by the first hand?).

Fr. 10

2 ἐλπιδ[, 4 μάχη[ (or e.g. ἐγερ[ε]μάχη[), 7 (-)κυδα[? MLW recognises pentameters in 2, 4, 6: 6 ] οὐδέ  
μει[-υυ-, 7 ]. ἐκύδα[ω- -υυ--.

Fr. 11

Line ends; 4 clearly pentameter.

3 Hex. -]μν[ο]μένο[ικιν (τα-, κα-)?

4 Pent. μ]ελετᾶν or compound? This manuscript shows some doubts about dialect, but not enough to encourage μ]ελέταν, τ]ελέταν, ἐκατηβ]ελέταν etc.

5 Hex. -]αίετο φορ[-? φόρ[μυξ is one of several possibilities. (Not the same as **2327** fr. 2 (a) i 7.)

8 Pent. Not the end of fr. 25. 8 (to give μένος); the line-spacing excludes a join.

9 Hex. Apparently ]δρα'' πλησι'' α. [ -- (a variant reading above α. [?). In ]δρα, the stroke above α might represent an acute accent, but that would not account for the following traces, which suit a second such stroke. I therefore take both together as the double dash found elsewhere in this MS (see fr. 2. 19 note). Prima facie, it should coincide with a word-division. But then the prosody of -δρᾱ makes difficulties. εῖ might be read in other ways, but I can find nothing more plausible in combination: not ἀπληστ'.

10 Pent. If ἔπειν, the word before must end in δ' or ξ('): e.g. τοῖς]δ' (Theogn. 20) MLW.

11 Hex. E.g. ]μνον[.

Fr. 12

It seems that at least one syllable is missing at the beginning of 4, and therefore at least two at the beginning of 6. If so, 6 must be hexameter, 7 pentameter. If in 7 ἔχθεος is to be read, that word is likely to follow the diaeresis. Therefore the sheet join visible after 6 χερσ runs roughly after the second foot. Fr. 20 has a join in about the same alignment. We might therefore place fr. 12 and 20 in vertical relation. This is the more interesting, because fr. 12. 5, 6 and 11 suggest naval matters, and fr. 20 may refer to the campaign of Artemisium.

3 ] . παρ[ο]μω[ ]ε[ leads nowhere; ] . πανθ[υ]μω[ ]ε[ may be possible.

4 Hex. The credentials of ἐξάνθρωπος are poor; the final trace seems to exclude ε]ξ ἀνθρώπων. That leaves ν]ξ, πέρι]ξ etc. (MLW); or ]ξ' (no trace of an elision mark, though the surface seems intact).

5 Pent. εφορμηε[η, altered to -μηθ[η, MLW, which suits the traces very well (ο rather than ω to suit the space). Cf. 11.

6 Hex. χέρσον διέπω[, δι' επω[. 'Governing' the dry land, as opposed to the sea (cf. 11)? MLW notes that the sense 'traversing' is not attested before the hellenistic period (Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 781. 2 ἀτραπιτόν; AP 10. 24. 2 (Crinagoras xxxiv GP) ἄλα). Simultaneous advance by land and sea would suit the campaign which ended at Thermopylae and Artemisium.

7 Pent. ἔχθεος?

8 Hex. βαρέ[ or β[ο]ρέ[? Boreas would fit well with what is guessed from fr. 20. 5. Palaeographically, it depends on the ink attached to the foot of β. At first sight, this begins another letter, though unexpectedly close; if so, not ο. But perhaps the trace is simply a flourish on the base of β (something similar, but smaller, in fr. 27. 5 λαβ). Before, perhaps ]κορ (not ]κ[ι]ορ), but others (]κοις, ]κω) could be considered.

11 Pent. ὄρμον?

12 Hex. γ]εινομ[εν- or the like (ὄρ]εινομ[εν- MLW)?

## Fr. 13

1  $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\chi$ -, 2  $\mu\alpha\chi$ [, 5  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}$   $\phi$ [ $\rho\nu\epsilon$ - (or  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda'$ ) might cohere. 'I think latter hemistichs, evens pentameters. E.g. 4  $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\nu$ ]βίαις ἀ[νέμους, 6 ]ε χεμ[ερι-? MLW.

## Fr. 14

2 ] $\xi\upsilon\kappa\tau\omega$ [, ] $\gamma\upsilon\kappa\tau\omega$ [ perhaps possible.

3 If  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$  .[ could be assumed (see app. crit.), this is presumably hexameter, - $\cup\cup$ - $\cup\cup$ ]  $\iota\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota$  .[?

4  $\chi\alpha\iota\tau$ [, 5  $\acute{\omicron}\rho\chi$ [ possible.

## Fr. 16

3 E.g.  $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon$ [,  $\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ [: or (JRR, MLW)  $\epsilon\pi\omicron$ ]νδαίς.

## Fr. 17

7 Perhaps  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma$ ]λαῖης (with - $\eta\iota$ ]c' suprascript as variant) MLW, although  $\ddot{\eta}$  is not the obvious reading of the traces.

10 Not  $\kappa\tau$ ]ημ with variant  $\chi\rho$ ]ημ, as in fr. 19. 22.

13 might be line-end; but the space after  $\epsilon$  is not enough to prove it, especially since the surface fibres are damaged.

## Fr. 18

Sheet-join at the right, beyond the line-ends; cf. fr. 42. 4 ff. line-ends; 4, 6 etc. pentameters.

Verbs in the past tense (7 f.). Some elements consistent with a scene of planning and decision (5  $\gamma\acute{o}\omicron\iota\omicron$ ?, 6  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omega$ ?, 7  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ ]εινε δὲ πάντα?, 8  $\acute{\epsilon}$ ]φράσατο?, 9  $\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , 11  $\kappa\alpha\tau'$   $\epsilon\upsilon$ ]χ-?), and indeed (MLW) in war (2  $\mu\alpha\rho$ ]γαμμενο .[, 4  $\pi\omicron\lambda$ ]έμουσ?)

2 Pent. From the position, line-end: e.g. ] $\gamma\alpha\mu\mu\epsilon\omicron\iota$ [, - $\omicron\nu$ [, - $\omicron\nu$ [: or if the last trace is real, - $\omicron\iota\epsilon$ ?

3 Hex. E.g.  $\nu$ ]ηδὸν  $\xi\theta\nu$ [-?

5 Hex. ] $\gamma\acute{o}\omicron\iota\omicron$  possible.

6 Pent. ] $\alpha\nu\epsilon\omega\nu$ , the first  $\nu$  corrected (not simply to or from  $\lambda\iota$ , for that leaves ink unexplained), the final  $\nu$  dotted above and below (i.e. deleted?). The final  $\nu$  may be simply a mistake (e.g.  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$  altered to  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ). Or one could think of morphological variation in  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ ).

7 Hex. ] $\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}$  looks like a verb: e.g.  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}$ ]εινε, or (with a normal spelling of long iota)  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho$ ]εινε or the like.

8 Pent. E.g. ] $\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\alpha\tau\omicron$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}$ ]φράσατο.

In the right margin, a note by another hand: perhaps  $\alpha\pi'$  .[, i.e.  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\iota}(\omega\nu)$  followed by a variant reading of which only the beginning (first trace  $\eta$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\tau\rho$ ?) survives. In fr. 2. 11 the form of abbreviation used is  $\alpha\pi'$ ; in 2327  $\alpha\pi\iota\omega$ .

9 Hex. At the end,  $\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho$  with variant (or gloss?)  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  seems secure. This was not the epic  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  δέ οἱ  $\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho$  (*Il.* 1. 188 etc.):  $\epsilon$ ]χ cannot be read, and the punctuation may suggest that the sense finished with the line. ] $\eta$  looks most likely: cf. e.g.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\gamma\gamma\eta$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho$  (*Il.* 3. 31 etc.),  $\acute{\omega}\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\theta\eta$  δέ οἱ  $\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho$  (16. 509) etc.

10 Pent. ] $\pi\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\nu$  would satisfy the traces, but not  $\delta\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\nu$  or  $\acute{K}\acute{\alpha}$ ]λαῖν (cf. fr. 20. 5). Two short obliques at the end, and again in 11 after ],  $\tau\alpha$ ; see fr. 2. 19 note. In the right margin,  $\alpha$ ] followed after a space by a very high trace, probably  $\alpha$ ]π<sup>t</sup> as in 8.

11 Hex.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu$ ]χ-,  $\kappa\alpha\tau'$   $\epsilon\upsilon$ ]χ-? Dr Rea notes  $\acute{K}\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}$  among Simonides' known titles (*PMG* 537).

## Fr. 19 col. i

17 Marginal note, ] $\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$  or perhaps ] $\alpha\beta\omicron\nu$ ; ] $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$  could be read. I have considered whether this continues the note at fr. 18. 8, on the pattern  $\alpha\pi\iota(\omega\nu)$   $\pi\rho$ ]ο]κακ $\omicron\nu$ . But the fibres do not confirm, even if a more plausible variant could be thought of.

## col. ii

1  $\delta\eta\mu\eta\tau$ ] possible. MLW notes the Temple of Demeter (and the long delay, 5) in *Hdt.* 9. 57-62.

2  $\chi$ ]ρ]ῆμα δ[ (cf. *Theogn.* 64, 197),  $\chi$ ]ρ]ῆ μ'  $\alpha\delta$ ] (cf. *Theogn.* 543; but you might have expected the scribe to mark the enclitic).

3  $\phi\acute{\eta}$  δὲ  $\delta\nu$ [, δ'  $\epsilon\delta\nu$ ] cf. 21.



4 'Perhaps ἄγρετο (verb)' MLW. The accent excludes ἀγρετός (if indeed such a form can be inferred from ἀγρεταί and παλινάγρετος).

5 δηρόν.

7 ῥύσιον.

8 καί μ[ε or the like, 9 και μ[ similarly?

11 θηεῦ μη[, μ' η[, θηεῦμ' η[.

12 Pattern ἦ[λ]εοῦ α-?

13 ο[ῦ]κ ἴχε[ would fit.

15 ἦς, ἦσπαι[ρ? The second might suit the fear and haste of 16 f.

16 φρικωθ[εῖς or the like: θ damaged at the top, but apparently not ε (φρικώε[ις etc.), since the lower arc rises to touch the cross-bar. But the verb has only a shadowy existence: (i) Hippocr., *Coac. Progn.* 24 φρικώσαντα as variant for φρικάσαντα, which editors normally print; (ii) Stephanus 'φρικόομαι horresco Gl.'—but I cannot trace his source.

18 λεκτ[-, λεκτ[ρ-, Λεκτ[ῶι (Hdt 9. 114).

21 Perhaps φῆ δ(έ), cf. 3, and so (*Od.* 11. 237 etc.) rather than φή.

22 χρ[ημ- with variant κ[τ?

Fr. 20

Four small pieces combine, see apparatus criticus.

The even lines are hexameters (see 4, 12).

Κάλαϊ[ makes a good reading in 5. It is tempting to combine here three snippets of information. (i) PMG 534 (Schol. Ap. Rhod. i 211–5): Simonides ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ related how Boreas carried off Orithyia to Thrace, where she gave birth to Zetes and Calais. (ii) PMG 532 (Suda) ... ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία δι' ἐλεγείας, ἡ δ' ἐν Καλαμῖνι μελικῶς among Simonides' works. (iii) Hdt 7. 189 λέγεται δὲ λόγος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορῆν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος εφί ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπικούρον καλέεσθαι κτλ, the great storm before the battle of Artemisium. This fragment may then belong to the corresponding episode in an Artemisium Elegy of Simonides.

Fr. 12, which has a sheet-join in about the same place, and which may refer to naval matters (and even 8 to Boreas), could come from the same context.

4 Hex. -οοο- ] ἰότητι τ[?

5 Pent. Ζήτην καὶ] Κάλαϊ[ν or the like would suit the traces, and the diacritics.

7 Pent. -οοο] ἐξ ἐρέβενος (changed to -βεος; cf. West, *Studies* 83). This phrase at this place in the line: *Il.* 8. 368, *Od.* 11. 37 (ὑπέξ), HHCer. 409.

11 Pent. ], ητ' ἦῦ[κόμοιο] κόρ[ης (Orithyia) MLW suits space and trace admirably.

12 Hex. In context, θάλ]ασαν likely; for what follows, I can think of nothing more plausible than ῥ[πὸ] τ[ρ]υγός (α[πο], as at Archil. fr. 4. 8 W, cannot be read). The storm coloured 'the sea with sediment'? MLW notes the relation to ἀπρύγετος (Schol. AbT *Il.* 15. 27 ἀπρύγετον ἄβυσσον, τρύγα μὴ ἔχοντα, one of many ancient etymologies).

13 Pent. ταμίην ἀγ]λαόφημον ἀλός (the storm roused Nereus or the like) MLW (the same epithet perhaps fr. 22. 5).

14 Hex. τί, τίνα. The high stop is clear. A connective might then be expected: τίνα δ' or τίνα δή MLW, possible.

15 Pent. End -μ]ενον altered to -νωι.

Fr. 21

The sheet-join to the right cuts the fifth foot of the hexameter in 9. Fr. 2 shows such a join at hexameter-end. From this imperfect match, we could consider placing fr. 21 above or below (above fr. 1, if the junction of fr. 1 and 2 is accepted). To judge only from the surface texture, a placing below would be acceptable. But the back looks quite different. Note that any such placing would produce a column of at least 54 lines (p. 33), unless there were overlaps, and in fact more, if fr. 21 takes us into the battle which is only in prospect in fr. 2.

No line-end survives, except in 14 (blank). But 8 looks like a pentameter, 9 clearly a hexameter.

Some elements may suggest military action (2, 4, 8?); and a river (3) provides a focus for the battle of Plataea. I have wondered at times whether 2–3 might refer to the first battle above the Asopus (Hdt 9. 20);

or whether hints of first person (3) and singular (8), and *κυμμα[χ]ίην* (8, if rightly read), might combine in a form of the Oath of Plataea (6 ἦ] μὴ!). MLW suggests a different and very attractive possibility, that lines 2–6 (and more?) contain a speech of Tisamenus about the outcome of the battle, corresponding to Hdt 9. 36 (οὗτος δὴ ... ὁ Τεισαμενὸς ... ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μὲν νῦν Ἑλλήσι καλὰ ἐγένετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμνησμένοις, διαβάσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὕ.), thus, 3 (προ)λ]έγω ... 4 πρῶτα β[ι]η[σαμένους / δεινὸν ἀμαι]μάκετόν τε κακ[όν] μίμνουσι δ' ἔσσεσθαι / νίκην ἦς μνή]μην ἤματα πάντ[α μενεῖν.

2 Pent. -]αδον βαλλομε[ν-υ-υ-υ-? ε]αδον, ἐμπελ]αδόν, ὄμ]αδον illustrate possibilities (e.g. ὄμ]αδον βαλλομέ[νων κακέων, cf. *Il.* 12. 339, MLW).

3 Hex. -υ-υ-υ-ε]γω ποταμοῦ possible. I am not sure that the trace would exclude ποταμούς, ποτ' ἀμους-.

4 Pent. -]ψαι πρῶτα β[ι]η[υ-υ-υ-, with variant β[ι]α[? β[ι]η[ι or another case, β[ι]η[σάμενοι or the like.

5 Hex. -υ ἀμαι]μακέτην or -ον would be an obvious guess. μένος, νείκος ἀμαιμάκετον Pind., *Pyth.* 3. 3, Bacch. 11. 64, cf. 4 β[ι]η[.

6 Pent. ]μην ἤματα πάντ[αυ-υ-. The phrase often at line-end in epic (before the weak caesura, *Il.* 16. 449); and so CEG 108. 6 (hexameters), *Mimn.* 12. 1.

7 Hex. End on the pattern νευκαντο[υ-υ-υ-? The verb is not normally used in the middle, therefore νεύκαντο[ς MLW rather than νεύκαντο (θύκαντο cannot be read). Before that the spacing excludes e.g. ε]πνευ-, δ]φινεύκαντο; ἐλάσει might be read for want of anything better; if ἐλάσ (μέλας, πέλας cannot be read), I do not see how to continue.

8 Pent. e.g. ]νν κυμμα[χ]ίην φιλέω[υ), with variants -ίαν and τελέω[υ). (Palaeographically, γ may be preferable to τ. But γελέω[ leads nowhere; and the placing of the suprascript letters is against their being an addition, i.e. γε φιλέω[.] κυμμο[ρ]ίην seems less suitable to trace and space; but cf. 10.

9 Hex. End seemingly κ]ρηπίδα (or compound) τ[υ-υ-υ- (boot? stonework? foundation? Dr Rea compares Pindar fr. 77, Artemisium ὄθι παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβάλλοντο φαεννάν / κρηπίδ' ἐλευθερίας). At the beginning, the trace suggests φ (though the space is narrow): e.g. -δά]φνωι γάρ; then [ύ]π[ὸ] MLW.

10 Pent. End -]ορίην β[υ-υ-υ-?

11 Hex. End ]ειποτεφ[υ-υ-υ-? εἴ ποτε is one possibility (at this place e.g. Theogn. 1331): often in prayers and appeals.

## Fr. 22

Odd lines pentameters, see 5.

2 E.g. ἀπ]οπρό, προπάτω[ρ (πατή]ρ προπάτω[ρ τε, cf. Alc. 130. 20 LP, MLW).

5 Presumably -υ-υ-υ-]αλις (v.l. -ας) ἀγλαοφ[υ-υ-υ-. MLW suggests e.g. κούρης εἰν]αλις ἀγλαόφη[με παῖ, cf. fr. 1. 16, which would place it in the Hymn to Achilles somewhere before fr. 1. 1. η[ not in itself an obvious reading of the traces.

## Fr. 23

E.g. 4 στεφ-, 6 μελε-.

## Fr. 25

The likely restoration in 1, and the general shape of 3 and 5, show that the odd-numbered lines are the hexameters, and we have remains of the second halves of lines (five syllables lost at the end of 1, four at the end of 5, two at the end of 9? two or three syllables at the ends of the pentameters 4, 10, 16?).

Various elements would suit a party scene: a paean? (1), laughter (2), charm (4); note the chime of 4 with Theogn. 496, and of 6–9 (a donkey joke?) with Theogn. 996.

1 Παιήνοος, παιήνοος (or -ήον', -ήον) likely; against ἡόνος, or the place name, one might count the orthography (ηι expected), the prosody (in poetry normally ἦϊ-, though see CEG 155. 2 and note), and the difficulty of restoring what precedes (the trace excludes και). The god? the song?

2 Pent. End on the pattern μηδ]ε γέλα τελέ[ων? Or παιζ]ε γέλα τε υ- (MLW, comparing PMG 646)? Or ἐγέλα? In either case, I do not see why the scribe bothered with diacritics (γέλα), in forms which should have given koine speakers no special difficulty. One could look for a rarer word (έλα imper.), a doric form (Laconian έλα), a proper name (Γέλα).

3 Hex. Pattern ε]πει φίλος (nom. or voc.?) ιετ[υ-υ-υ-? Or τέρ]πει φίλος (MLW)? (Apparently ιετ[ι, possibly υετ[ι, not οετ[ι.)

4 Pent. ο]ὐκ ἄχαρις γέ[νετο or the like. Theogn. 496 χούτως συμπόσιον γίνεται οὐκ ἄχαρι—in a poem, MLW points out, addressed (by Euenus?) to a Simonides.

5 Hex. The stop is faint, and need not be trusted. End, δύο κρέσσ[ονο--? Two glasses are better? two anchors (Otto, *Sprichwörter* 122)? two friends (Archil. 259 W. and note)? But see on 6.

6 Pent. End, ] .ργος ὄνος? There is a slight space after the last sigma; but not enough in itself to prove line-end. The donkey is sustained by the panniers in 9 (and ὦτα or νῶτα in 16?); note also 9 λιγυ- with Call. fr. 1. 29–30. Before it, perhaps ] .εργος (but e.g. δύ]ζοργος may not be excluded; not νεκρός, as Cleob. 3). Theogn. 993 εἰ θείης Ἀκάδημε ἐφίμερον ὕμνον ἀείδειν ... γνοίης χ' ὄσσον ὄνων κρέσσονες ἡμίονοι. On this model, one might guess (5) δύο κρέσσ[ονες ἴπποι / ... ἢ (εἴς?) περ]ίεργος ὄνος. Donkeys are inferior anyway; and proverbially unmusical.

7 Hex. -ζομένη[οο--? Feminine here and in 8: donkey, flute-girl?

8 Pent. End ἄγουσα μέ[λος or the like?

9 Hex. ] κανθήλια καὶ λιγυ[--? The first word imposes itself, though the initial traces are too scanty to confirm it as a reading. For the ὄνος (6) κανθήλιος see Hermipp. fr. 7. 3 KA with note; the panniers themselves, Aristoph., *Vesp.* 170; description, K. D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* 96–8. If we recognise a third person imperative in the next line, we could guess e.g. φερέτω before this, 'let him (her) carry the load and ...'. But note that the stop after κανθήλια, which might introduce a new clause, is doubtfully read. λιγύς, λιγυρός refer to penetrating sounds: here, the music? or the braying?

10 Pent. End -λφέτω, ουκ[οο--? I can think of no reading but ἀλφέτω. That could be given a sense: 'let the donkey earn (food? blows?)'. But we must then assume that the word before (ending in γ or τ) was elided across the diaeresis; no elision is marked by the scribe. The stop before οὐκ may set off a new clause continuing into the next line; or a contrasting phrase to complete this line ('but not wine at the symposium'? οὐκ [ἀγαμαι MLW]).

14 Pent. Κ]ύπρος altered to -ις? MLW.

15 Hex. ἀ]εικέα μισθ[όνο-- (cf. *Il.* 12. 435) might be read, with doubts about θ[. μισθοὺς ... ἔφερον (cf. 16) Theogn. 434.

16 Pent. End ] .ωτα φέρω(ν) or ] .ωτα φερω[οο--? νῶτα, ὦτα might be relevant to donkeys.

17 Hex. ετύγος or Cτυγός α[οο--?

## Fr. 26

Lines 5–12 overlap Simonides fr. 8. 6–13 W. The quotation-fragment, thirteen lines beginning ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χίος εἶπεν ἀνὴρ, stands at Stobaeus 4. 34. 28 under the heading *Σιμωνίδου*. Of the three manuscripts, S offers the whole, MA only 6–13. That MA represent a different tradition from S is clear: they contain different selections of extracts. But divergence within a single extract is not expected, and editors have generally treated it as accidental.

The papyrus now shows that in the substantive text fr. 8. 6–13 stood in a different context, without 1–5. It is tempting to think that MA represent the original extract, S a secondary conflation of two extracts on similar themes.

This has its relevance to the question of the author. Some scholars have assigned the whole quotation to Semonides of Amorgos: see against this West, *Studies* 179 f. Now we must divide it. (a) 6–13 occur here in the same papyrus as fr. 11 W, quoted by Plutarch as Simonides, and other references to the Battle of Plataea: a poem too late for Semonides, and presumably ascribed to Simonides by Alexandrian editors. (b) 1–5 remain assailable, though, as West notes, the citation of Homer would be quite characteristic (Simonides PMG 542, 579, 581), and late authority says that Simonides did indeed call Homer 'Chian' ([Plu.], *De Homero* 2. 1, p. 7 Kindstrand).

The real context, as the papyrus presents it, is badly broken. 5–12 = fr. 8. 6–13 develop the theme that youth, and life, are short: *carpe diem*. (Cf. Mimnermus 1 and 5 W, without the explicit moral.) 3–4 can plausibly be seen as anticipating this. These reflections might find a place in a longer poem about glamorous youth and failing age such as fr. 27 may represent. But they might also make a poem by themselves, especially if 13 ff. change the subject, i.e. begin a new poem (if that poem had to do with Homer, see 14 note, it could provide the original home of fr. 8. 1–5).

3 Hex. ]θον ἐπὶ χρό[νον-οο--? 'Time' might anticipate the theme of 10 f: life is short, but (5) the young do not see it. We could approach ]θον as (i) a verb, on the pattern of Hes., *Op.* 133 παυρίδιον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον, or as (ii) an adjective, on the pattern of Mimn. 2. 3 τοῖς ἴκελοι πῆχυιον ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄνθεσιν ἦβης /



τερπόμεθα. (ii) looks more appealing. Perhaps (μάλα) τυτ]θόν, cf. AR 4. 1257 αὔθι μένειν τυτθόν περ ἐπὶ χρόνον, *Od.* 12. 407 ἢ δ' ἔθει οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον. But I have found no example of a temporal use earlier than AR (in Homer the word refers to size and physical space).

4 Pent. παρμενϙ[-υυ-? A part of παραμένειν (παρμένε[ι, -μενέ[ει, -μενέ[οντα etc.) might suit the theme of the transitory: Theogn. 197 f. χρῆμα δ' ὁ μὲν Διόθεν καὶ σὺν δίκῃ ἀνδρὶ γένηται | ... παρμόνιμον τελέθει, *Hdt.* 3. 57. 3 ... εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἶά τε ἔστι πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν (Handley on *Men.*, *Dysc.* 798).

]ω might then belong to a dative of interest (ἀνθρώπ]ω). But on the scanty evidence, we expect the scribe to write iota adscript. An adverb could be thought of: ὀπίς]ω?

Fr. 19 (χρῆμα 2, 22, δηρόν 5) does not join here.

5-12 The spacing makes no difficulties about restoring the text as transmitted in Stobaeus.

5 ἔχξ[ι: ἔχη Stob. Of ξ[ι, the lower arc; not η, too low for ο. In similar expressions, MSS transmit the subjunctive at Tyrt. 10. 28 and Theogn. 1007, the indicative and the subjunctive as variants (editors print the indicative) at *Il.* 18. 61 and its imitation Theogn. 1143.

7 γηραέμεν: -α- now in the earliest witness (Bergk had wanted γηρηέμεν). West, *Studies* 78.

9 νη]πιοι οἰς: νηπίοις MSS. Camerarius' correction confirmed.

10 βιοτοῖ' so written: βιότου MSS. Camerarius' conjecture confirmed.

13 ff. If the excerptor knew his business, we can assume that the syntax was complete at the end of 12: not necessarily that a poem ended there, though an end is generally marked, on the pattern of Theogn. 37 f. ταῦτα μαθὼν κτλ. What little can be seen of the matter (14 'tongue', 16 'lying') would suit a sermon on truth or sincerity—a change of subject, therefore a new poem?

φράζεν (or a compound); then δέ or δ' seems unavoidable. φράζεν commonly in admonitions; in principle, it might stand alone (Theogn. 557 φράζεο δ' ὁ κλήρός τοι ...), or govern an accusative (Theogn. 99 f. σὺ δέ μοι φίλε ταῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ | φράζεο) or a subordinate clause. The connective might (i) connect within the line, on the pattern γήθει μὲν, φράζεν δέ or (ii) look back, either (a) to join φράζεν with τλήθι or (b) inceptively, to start a new section or poem. If (ii), the line probably began with an item outside the syntax, i.e. a vocative (an earlier vocative may be presupposed by 11 κύ).

δεπαλα[ι: possibilities include πάλα[ι (an example from the past? a long-standing opinion, cf. Theogn. 1038?), παλα[ιοτέρων (earlier generations? the elderly, as opposed to the foolish young?).

14 ἐκφυγ' ὄμη. [ι: I do not know how to interpret the accentuation. ἐκφυγ(ε) might be finite or imperative: perhaps the former, since it might explain why the scribe felt an accent necessary (to draw attention to the missing augment)? In ὄμη. [ι, the acute might distinguish ὄμηρος ('Ὀμηρος) from ὁ μηρός; or the article ὁ from the relative? (For ὁ cf. Chandler § 739; Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 157 quotes e.g. **1370** Eur., *Med.* 59 ἦ; contrast **841** Pind., *Pae.* I 5 δ.) But none of this is reliable; and the final trace too slight to limit the possibilities.

Various patterns. With imperative, ῥήμα δὲ πᾶν] ... ἐκφυγ' ὁ μὴ ν[όμιμον. With indicative, ἐκφυγ' Ὀμηρ[ος υ-: even among older poets (παλα[ι(-)), Homer did not escape slander? or, MLW suggests, old Homer's words escaped oblivion, for they told truth (cf. fr. 1. 11 ff. above).

15 Hex. -υυ]παρδαμα[, ]παρδαμα[? I can make nothing of either: παρδαμάλη seems out of place; that leaves only ἦ]παρ or ῥ]παρ. MLW suggests πανδαμά[τωρ, all-conquering time (cf. PMG 531. 5) cannot dim the fame of Homer. But ν looks impossible as a reading (nu often does have its right-hand side curved; but not in the small tight loop that I seem to see here).

16 Pent. -υυ]ω ψυδρῆ(ς). The adj. Theogn. 122 (v.l. ψυδνός).

17 Hex -υυ]εν θαλίησι[. ἐν θαλίης *Od.* 11. 603; without preposition HHMerc 56.

18 Pent. -υ]. ἐϋστρεπτω. [? Above ω. [ι, ·οι. [ι, the final trace a point at mid-height on the edge, part of a letter? or of a short dash marking the end of the variant, as a short dash marks its beginning? The suprascript letters might represent a variation between dual and plural, i.e. -τοι in place of -τω (not -τοιγ, for which the trace seems unsuitable, in place of -των).

The adjective and its relations apply in epic to 'well-twisted' cords and the like; later to flexible things and adaptable people. The lyre (*Od.* 21. 408) might suit 17, cf. Theogn. 778; or dancing feet (*AP* 9. 533. 3, Byzantine), with variants πόδε, πόδεσ. Pliancy might suit the lies of 16.

19 Hex. -]ων ἐνθα καὶ [ι.

Fr. 27

Fr. 27 contains text which overlaps that of **2327** fr. 3. 7–8 and fr. 4 [Adesp. Eleg. 29, 31], which are shown to be consecutive. The notes which follow refer to the lines of the combined text (p. 24); in 1–6 **2327** is the only witness, in 10 **3965**. 7 is top of column in **3965**, 9 in **2327**.

1 Pent. Short line.

2 ] . . , indeterminate traces of two or three letters, the first possibly the bottom arc of a loop or oval, low in the line. Then *ει* with ‘ο’ written above sigma: i.e. *-οιει* altered to *-οιο* (Lobel)?

Hex. Perhaps *ρο*]θῆροιει θαλάσσης with *ροθίοιο* as variant.3 ] . . , trace (foot of upright?) a little below the line, e.g. *ρ*.Pent. *πόρον*, *ἄπορον*.

4 ρ[ , ink at the lower level suitable to the bow of alpha.

Hex. *περάνα*[c Lobel, or *περάνα*[i West.

5 Pent. Short line.

6 Hex. *-οιμι κέλευθο*[ν or the like.

7 **3965** ιο[ , **2327** ] . φανων[ , apparently the foot of an upright, but ‘the extreme lower tip of *ε* may be possible’ (Lobel).

Pent. *κόσμ[ο]ν ἰο[ετ]εφάνων* Lobel, quoting Theogn. 250 *ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων* (cf. Bacch. 5. 3). The only other obvious plurality is Athens (Pind. fr. 76 SM). What could be meant by *κόσμον*? Of song, see above on fr. 2. 2 + 1. 19? (On this basis, MLW elegantly restores *πρήσσοιμι κέλευθο[ν / φόρτον ἄγων Μουέω]ν κόσμ[ο]ν ἰο[ετ]εφάνων*.) Of a place, in this journeying context? — the sea, the glory of the Nereids, or the island, the glory of the Nymphs? somewhere glorified by the Muses (cf. 8 *ἔδος πολύμνον*)?

8 In **3965** *πολυδε*[ can be read; in **2327** ]δενδρονικο[ , with ]υμν· written above ]δενδρ.

Hex. *ἔδος πολύδενδρον* (variant *πολύμνον*) *ἰκο*[ –. Neither epithet informative in itself. Lobel compared HHAr. 225 *Θήβης δ’ εἰσαφίκανεν ἔδος καταειμένον ὕλην*. Add Solon 13. 21 (the wind) *θεῶν ἔδος αἰπὺν ἰκάνει / οὐρανόν*. At the end, *ἰκο*[ίμην is one possibility (so West).

9 **2327** ]ανησον . [ , a stroke rising to the right: λ Lobel, but α not I think excluded. **3965** ]αγαλμα . [ .

Pent. To judge from the relative alignment, –υυ–υυ]α νῆσον ἄγαλμα . [υ–. (Either *ἄγαλμ’* or *ἄγαλμα*; *ἄγαλματ*[ cannot be read.) Among the various meanings of *ἄγαλμα*, the juxtaposition with *νῆσον* might suggest ‘an object of pride to ...’. The last trace doubtful, perhaps β or κ: apparently not θ[εῶν; β[ίου MLW.

10 **2327** ]δηξα[ . **3965** ] . νξανθοτρ[ .

Hex. *ξανθοτρ*[ιχ indicated. Dr Rea proposed to join here **2327** fr. 8 ]χας ιπη[ους (see Maehler on Bacch. 5. 37 for the idea). There is no clear support for this in the fibres; and the ink of fr. 8 is considerably more faded, but that need not matter. Alternatively, one can think of a person, whose name or patronymic may be represented by ]δην: it is mostly gods or heroes who have yellow hair, but not exclusively, cf. Solon fr. 22a. 1 W (*v.l.* *πυρρο*-).

11 **2327** ] . νχειρα[ , ‘the right-hand arc of ο or ω’. **3965** ] . εραλαβοι . [ , the last trace perhaps the initial curve of μ.

Pent. *χεῖρα λάβοι*, *λάβοιμ*[ιυ–. A gesture of pledge (*Il.* 6. 233, 21. 286), reassurance (24. 671), welcome (*Od.* 3. 37), courtship (HHVen 155) etc.

12 **2327** ]ντρα[ . **3965** ] . αποχροοσα[ .

Hex. *-ντος ἀπὸ χροός αν*[υυ–. *ἀπὸ χροός* often enough at this place in hexameter poets, *Il.* 14. 170 *ἀπὸ χροός ἡμερόεντος* etc.

13 **2327** ]ωνιμ[ . **3965** ] . ιμεροεντα[ .

Pent. ]ων ἡμερόεντα[υ–.

14 **2327** ] . δοσεν[ , ‘a trace level with the tops of letters’, apparently from a horizontal or oblique, not an upright. **3965** ] . δοσ . νανθε[ , first, ‘loop of rho suggested, but anomalously rectilinear’ Lobel (but perhaps rather flattened top and stem of upsilon).

Hex. ] . δοσ ἐν ἀνθε[ῖ, ἀνθε[ει(ν)–υυ–.

15 **2327** ] . . . [ , third, ‘top of upright above the general level, φ suggested’ Lobel. **3965** ] . αρκιδασεκ . [ , first, short horizontal trace at mid-level, surface destroyed above to left; last, high horizontal, hole below.

Pent. *φαρκίδας εκ* . [υυ–. *φαρκίδα* ‘wrinkle’ is quoted from Sophocles (fr. 1108 R: *φαρμακίδα* MSS, corr. Brunck and others); otherwise the word survives only in grammarians (and the adjective *φαρκιδώδης* in the

medical tradition). Herodian apparently thought the iota long (Arcadius 221. 17 f. Schmidt; *περὶ διχρόνων* Herod. II 18. 22–4 Lenz); but it cannot be so here. The last trace most suggests τ, but γ, π could be considered.

16 Hex. νεοβλαστ[—οο—]. The adjective is rare, most often of new growth in plants or animals (so Nic., *Al.* 484; TLG adds Theophr., *HP* 1. 8. 5 and *Aesopica* 8. 2; Galen 13. 284. 15 of horn); Opp., *Hal.* 1. 735 τέκνα νεοβλαστῆ.

These fragmentary lines offer some elements which could be combined:

(i) 'sea' 2, 'passage' 3?, 'crossing' 4, 'path' 6, ἔδος πολύδενδρον (πολύμυρον) 8, 'island' 9.

(ii) an optative verb, and in the first person singular, can be seen in 6, is likely in 11, and could conveniently be restored in 8.

(iii) 11 ff. hand, flesh, desire, flowers, wrinkles, new-grown.

(i) and (ii) together, assuming that the optatives express a wish, not a potential, might yield 'How I long to cross the sea to the island ...'. This journey might be (a) real; (b) escapist, on the pattern of Eur., *Hipp.* 732 ff., where the chorus long to fly away to the Island of the Hesperides; (c) post mortem, as Posidippus SH 705. 22 γήραι μυστικὸν οἶμον ἐπὶ 'Ραδάμανθον ἰκοίμην. The detail does not decide between these possibilities. Real islands may have many trees (8). But fantastic islands naturally tend to be even more fertile: Hes., *Op.* 170 ff. (μακάρων νήσοι), Pherecydes FGGrH 3 F 16 (θεῶν κῆπος); Achilles lives on the Island of the Blessed with its noble trees (Pind., *Ol.* 2. 73), or on the White Island (*Aethiop.* arg. p. 69 B; Pind., *Nem.* 4. 49), which Pausanias describes as δαεῖα ἄλη πάσα (3. 19. 11).

In what follows, the speaker (the poet?) is to meet someone (11), perhaps someone golden-haired, who may be desirable (13) among the flowers (14). Again, the details don't exclude a real party, to which the speaker looks forward. Nonetheless, I should guess that this is a fantasy, whether for this life or the next: in the idyllic landscape (14) the speaker will lose his wrinkles (15), perhaps even grow his hair again (16).

The deified Achilles appears in fr. 1: he undoubtedly had yellow hair, and a place in Elysium (as Simonides himself said, PMG 558). But I see no other reason to bring him in here.

Further considerations arise from 2327. There fr. 1 + 2 contain the top of two columns, printed as Adesp. Eleg. 28 and 30 W. Mr Lobel suggested that fr. 3 formed the lower part of col. i (POxy XXII p. 69). Fr. 4 he placed to the right of col. ii 8–11, even though prima facie it contains the top of a column; and West assigned it to col. iii (since it does not fit well with suggested reconstructions of col. ii).

3965 now makes it certain that the first line of 2327 fr. 4 follows directly on the last line of fr. 3. Therefore fr. 3 forms the foot of one column, and fr. 4 the head of the next. Therefore either (i) Lobel's placing of fr. 3 must be given up, or (ii) fr. 4 must combine with fr. 1–2 col. ii.

As to (i), there is no firm footing: Lobel himself noted 'I cannot profess to identify the back fibres of the one in the other with complete certainty'.

As to (ii), we can use two kinds of argument.

(a) The fibres. As touches the horizontal fibres, nothing can be said for or against, since between the beginnings in fr. 1–2 ii and the middles in fr. 4 runs the sheet-join mentioned by Lobel (the edge visible in 8, cutting the chi of χαρι, and below). As for the vertical fibres, I see no clear likeness or unlikeness with the vertical fibres of ii 9–11.

(b) Possible supplements. The combined text looks like this:

ε.[...]ενα.[...]α νῆσον ἄγαλμα.[  
κα[...]εχε.[...]δην ξανθότρ[ιχ 10  
ο.[.....].ν χεῖρα λαβοι.[  
οφρα.ε.[...].ντος ἀπὸ χροός αν[  
λεῖβει δ' ἐγ<sup>π</sup> βλ[εφάρ]ων ἱμερόεντα [πόθον  
καί κενε.[.....].δος ἐν ἄνθε[



κεκλιμένος λευκ[.] . . . φαρκίδας εκ. [ 15  
 χαιτη[.] ν χαριε[ ] α νεοβλαστ[  
 . [ . . . . . ] εὐανθέα πλε[ξ  
 μο[ ] δ' ἰμερόεντα λίγνν.[  
 ἀρτι[επέα] νωμῶν γλῶσσαν α[  
 [ 20  
 τῶνδε[  
 εὐκομ. [

We have no objective means of telling how many letters would be missing between the two parallel strips. I have taken as standard the most plausible supplement, that in 13, and estimated the other lacunas from it.

9 ε. [ , ε stands a little in, but there is no clear ink to the left of it; the traces perhaps top and lower curve of *c*. ]ευα. [ , upright, 'perhaps ε or possibly ρ' Lobel, but the irregularities of the ink may be deceptive; above εν, ] . ν suprascript, 'the back of *c*, or possibly *o*, followed by a dot level with the tops of letters, not εν' Lobel (the dot might perhaps belong to a damaged upward extension of the oblique of ν).

]α νῆσον: if the division is right, α seems inevitable, as the only reading of the traces which might serve as a word-end. Even so, final *ā* is not so common in this dialect. One possibility: a genitive (so *Κινύρ*]α West). Another: an uncontracted spelling in -εα. This points first to εὐαέα νῆσον. (For the adjective applied to a place, see Hes., *Op.* 599 and West's note; real islands no doubt enjoyed sea breezes, and so did the Island of the Blest, Pind., *Ol.* 2. 71 f.). But the spacing seems to require one or two letters more: therefore, as MLW suggests, εὐαγ[έ]α ('splendid' or 'far-seen'; for the idea cf. Pind., *N.* 4. 49 f.; fr. 33c. 5 f.). Before that, εε[ ∪ ∪ (apparently not εν]: ζε[περον a little long.

10 ]εχε. [ , the top of an upright, perhaps (but not certainly) a trace to the right from a joining stroke ('perhaps π' Lobel).

As a speculation, I mention that the spacing would allow κα[ί κεν] Ἐχεκ[ρατί]δην ξανθότρ[ιχα]. For the beginning, see 14. For Echecratidas, see schol. Theoc. 16. 34, Antiochus, whom Theocritus records among the Thessalian princes made famous by Simonides, was the son of Echecratidas and Dyseris, ὧς φησι *Κιμωνίδης* (= PMG 528). Dedications by Echecratidas, *Θεσσαλίας* ... ἀρχός, and Dyseris, stand among epigrams ascribed to Anacreon (AP 6. 142, 136; FGE pp. 142, 139). Thuc. 1. 111 mentions Ὀρέστης ὁ Ἐχεκρατίδου υἱὸς τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως whom the Athenians tried to restore from exile in 457/6. Historians have posited at least two Echecratidai, a generation apart, to account for these snippets (see e.g. RE Suppl. XII s.v. Pharsalos 1051-4); and in any case the name is not uncommon. The Echecratidas of our poem, if he exists, floats in an amorous context (12 f.), must therefore be young (at the moment of writing? in the poet's memory?); if he is a Thessalian prince, there is no obvious island on which his hand might be shaken—unless indeed on the Island of the Blest.

11 ρ. [ , anomalous trace, 'like the left-hand angle of φ but too high for this' (Lobel). ]ον or ]ων, λάβοι or λάβοιμ[ι.

12 οφρα. ε. [.] [ , φρ likely, although only their feet remain; after α, 'parts of uprights suggesting ν or π', then perhaps the base and the end of the cross-bar of ε, but I do not think other rounded letters excluded, then to the right of a damaged patch a trace in the form of a small λ, 'prima facie χ'.

More sensual circumstances? ἀπὸ χροός seems to stand in parallel with 13 ἐκ βλ[εφάρ]ων. The subject there may be human or divine; depending on how divine, his flesh might radiate light, or beauty (κάλλος HHCer 276, HHVen 174; εἶδος Hes. fr. 43(a). 73 f.; χάρις Hes., *Th.* 583 v.l.), or a sweet savour (see Richardson on HHCer 275). We could look for something on the lines of ὄφρα (ὄφρ' α-) ... ]ντος ἀπὸ χροός ἀν[θινον ὄζει. MLW proposes ὄφρα νέο[ν] χ[αρίε]ντος ἀπὸ χροός ἀν[θος ἀείη (emending to λείβοι in the next line), well-suited to trace and space.

13 λείβει δ' ἐκ βλ[εφάρ]ων ἰμερόεντα [πόθον looks in itself highly plausible (West had already suggested βλ[εφάρων]: Hes., *Th.* 910 f. (the Charites) τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἴβητο δερκομενάων / λυσιμελής; Eur., *Hipp.* 527 f. Ἔρωσ Ἔρωσ δ' κατ' ὀμμάτων / στάζεις πόθον (where, in spite of Mr Barrett's notes, I should take the eyes to be those of Eros). There is one obstacle: the second hand has entered ·π· above the beta of λείβει. If he was right, the suggested reconstruction falls. But of course such interlinear variants may preserve corruptions just as much as corrections.

14 κενε. [, top of upright with high horizontal extending to the right: π Lobel, but I would have thought γ equally possible. καί κεν ἐγ[ώ(ν)]? The phrase *Il.* 20. 367; repeated καί κεν (cf. 10) *Il.* 6. 456 f. This might introduce any form of conditional; in Homer normally optative, once subjunctive (*Il.* 24. 655), once future (*Od.* 16. 257), past tenses for the counterfactual (*Il.* 5. 898, *Od.* 20. 222).

] ,δοσ, in 2327 a trace level with the tops of letters, most suggesting the tip of a rising oblique; in 3965 what looks like the upper part of a flattened Y. Against ]ρδοσ: the ρ would be anomalously shaped in 3965. Against ]υδοσ, which might suit palaeographically in both: if ἐγ[ώ(ν)] is right, how to supply the gap? ἀσπο]υδοσ, ὁ φρο]υδοσ (if the lengthening is allowable)? ἄτε Α]υδοσ?? MLW.

ἐν ἀνθε[ci, ἀνθε[ι? But clearly there are other possibilities. Related questions of scene and syntax: (i) is the reclining reveller lying on flowers, cf. the commentators on Archil. 196A. 44 ἐν ἀνθεσιν ... ἔκλινα, or crowned with them, for the use of ἐν see Bond on Eur., *Her.* 677? (ii) should 15 λευκ[ be taken with ἀνθε[? λευκ[ο]ῖς is a possible reading; but so is λευκάς, see on 15. The two questions would be connected, if white flowers have some particular use or significance. For wreaths, certainly, the (white) lily was widely used (e.g. Aristoph., *Nub.* 911); cf. Arcestr. SH 190. 3 = 59. 3 Montanari ὑγρὴν χαίτην λευκῶ πεπυκασμένον ἀνθει (if this refers to the bibber, not the wine). But the wreath may be premature here, if it is being made in 17.

In any case, the main verb should stand at the end of 14: some equivalent of εὐωχοίμην?

15 κεκλιμένος: of c the lower hook (not ι or ν).

λευκ[.]. ., the two traces stand on fr. 4 before the tall riser which Lobel identified as a φ. The text here printed assumes that this is the φ of φαρκίδασ. The traces themselves are slight: λευκ[ο]ῖς seems possible, but also λευκάς (the spacing depends again on the precise ranging of the two strips). λευκ[, not λευρ[, it seems (the upright is too short for ρ, and the junction seems clearly to represent two joining obliques).

εκ. [ (on 3965), the horizontal trace taken by Lobel as τ, but I am not sure that γ or π are excluded. If 'wrinkles' is a fixed point, we need something to govern the accusative—a verb to mean 'smoothing out', 'leaving behind', 'forgetting'? 'Putting off' old age is expressed in various ways: ἀπωθεῖσθαι (HHCer 275), ἀποξύνειν (*Il.* 9. 447, HHVen 224), ἐκδύναι (Aristoph., *Pax* 336, Call. fr. 1. 35, Anacreont. 53. 7 W), ἀποεἰέσθαι (Aristoph., *Lys.* 670–1 etc.), ἀποβάλλειν (Aristoph. fr. 129 KA). But none of these seems helpful here. I can think of nothing more likely than ἐκπ[ροφυγών.

ἐν ἀνθε[ciν ἀβρὰ πάθοιμι / κεκλιμένος, λευκάς φαρκίδασ ἐκτ[ὸς ἐλών MLW.

16 χαίτη[. . .]ν χαριε[ on 2327, χαίτη [με]ν, χαίτη[ci]ν (West) among the possibilities; then ]α νεοβλάστ[ on 3965. What was 'new grown' and had to do with hair? (i) Perhaps the hair itself, if the speaker does indeed look to rejuvenation; the charming object might then be the wreath which probably appeared in the next line, or the perfumed oil which would go with it (Xenoph. fr. 1. 1 ff. W; Plato Com. 71. 6 f. KA; Nisbet & Hubbard on Horace, *Carm.* 1. 4. 9). (ii) Perhaps the fresh flowers which went to make the wreath. (i) would suggest χαίτη[ci]ν χαριέ[ντ]α νεοβλάστ[οισιν] ἔλαια: but then how to continue in 17? Under (ii) MLW proposes χαίτη[ci]ν χαριέ[ντ]α νεοβλάστ[οιο] κυπέρου / π[οίκιλον] κτλ. (cf. Alcman PMG 58, 60).

17 .[, 'the top of an upright', possibly a junction at the top (i.e. γ, π, ν??), possibly part of another upright on the unhinged scrap to the right.

πλε[ξάμ- στέφανον West (πλε[κτόν] or the like, cf. Xenoph. fr. 1. 2, is also available). I do not see how to join 3965 fr. 23 here (4 ]ετ[εφ[.].

18 .[, 'the lower part of an upright'.

λιγύν rather than Λίγυν (λιγύν- a remote possibility). λιγύς/λιγυρός may describe the singer, the instrument, the voice or the song. Given 19 νομῶν the subject is likely to be a masculine singular, i.e. the speaker himself? The gap at the beginning would accommodate e.g. μο[λπή], Μο[ύσαι] (West); or say μο[λπή]ς ... λιγύν .[ ... οἶμον (after Alcaeus PLF 347(b)).

19 αρτ.[.], 'the upper part of an upright', then a small upright trace (high enough to be a suprascript) above the line at the end of the gap.

ἀρτι[επέα] West, the suprascript explained as a v.l. η for εα. ἀρτιεπῆς γλώσσα of the poet, Pind., *Isthm.* 5. 46 (a poem contemporary with Simonides' old age, see the reference to the Battle of Salamis in 48 ff.).

21–2 on a detached fragment, which Lobel thought 'located here by both cross and vertical fibres'. Note that the overlap of cross fibres is very small, so that the horizontal alignment is not necessarily reliable.

21 .[, foot of upright.

22 .[, part of upright.

Probably, as Lobel suggested, variants εὐκομπ[, εὐπομπ[.

Thus the combination of 2327 fr. 4 with fr. 1–2 ii produces sense enough to seem plausible. Mr Lobel considered whether fr. 5, which has a sheet-join similarly placed, stood at the foot of the same column, but concluded that the backs were too unlike, POxy XXII p. 70. (If we accepted the placing, and MLW's suggestion that fr. 5 immediately preceded fr. 4 (above p. 28), it would follow that the Plataea Elegy came next.)

Thus the journey to the island leads to a party scene: someone (the speaker? that is, the poet?) would take someone's hand, while someone (Eros? the beloved?) distils beauty and desire; he would lie on a bed of flowers, wear a wreath of flowers, and exercise his ready tongue in sweet clear song. If ἐγ[ώ] is accepted in 14, there is a first person speaker, cf. above 6; if 10 refers to Echekratidas, there would be more reason to see the speaker as Simonides himself.

The reconstruction proposed for 10 and 14 makes those optatives potential. We are no closer to knowing whether the journey to the island, and the celebrations there, are practical anticipation, or wishful fantasy. The most distinctive element, the wrinkles (15), has no immediate context.

The extreme view would be this:

The aged Simonides longs to escape (now, or after death), carrying his poetry, across the sea to the place of many trees, the Island of the Blest (Elysium), there to meet again the dead Echekratidas in all his desirable youth; they will join in the symposium; the wrinkled Simonides too will recover his youth.

Elysium was by now becoming less exclusively the haunt of mythic heroes (as by Plato's time, *Gorg.* 523–4, it will be open to all the εὐεβέις): Harmodius is imagined there, *PMG* 894. That poets might join the μάκαρες is implied by Aristoph., *Ran.* 85—and so later, Sappho in the μακάρων ἄλκος, Dioscorides *AP* 7. 407. 8, the πῖν vates in Elysium, Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 662. In Elysium, naturally, the good life is lived: μακάρων εὐωχία *Ar.*, *Ran.* 85, συμπόσιον τῶν δόσιων Plato, *Resp.* 263C. The Blest continue the pleasures of their normal lives: so poets will practice their art after death (Nisbet & Hubbard on Horace, *Carm.* 2. 13, p. 204), just as they hope that old age will not deprive them of it (*Eur.*, *Her.* 676 f.). I have found no evidence that the Blest were rejuvenated; the idea itself seems natural enough, given that conditions in Elysium parallel those of the Golden Age, where old age had no place (*M. Davies, Prom.* 13 (1987) 265 ff.: *Hes.*, *Op.* 113 f.).

If the reconstruction is accepted, we can confirm Lobel's original placing of 2327 fr. 3 at the foot of fr. 1–2 col. i. At the head of the same column stands the passage printed by West as *Adesp. Eleg.* 28. On the doubtful calculation made above (p. 33), ten to twenty verses might be lost in between. We have no means of telling whether one poem ended within this lacuna (a fairly short poem, if it began with *Adesp. Eleg.* 28. 3, see below), so that fr. 3 belongs to the next. But given that the Plataea Elegy was of some length, we should consider whether fr. 3 and its attaching pieces continued the same poem from the top of col. i, or rather from i 3, which West plausibly identified as a first line.

West, *Studies* 167 f. summed up his interpretation of the earlier fragment thus: 'The poet confesses that his sexual inhibitions are losing their grip. Even since his pubic hair appeared, he has—ἀχνύμενος—respected Dike and Aidos, but now he is a prey to Desire.' Difficulties remain in much of the detail. But at minimum, we could say that fr. 1 contains a reference to a symposium, desire and perhaps old age. At maximum, we could imagine a poem on these lines: 'I can never be a cautious wallflower. Even now, in old age, I long for love and wine. Hasten the day, when I recover my youth in the symposium of the Blest.'

Fr. 28

3 οὐ]κ ἀλόφ[ rather than καυλο[ MLW.

Fr. 32

1 E.g. ἀνα[θείς (pent.?) MLW.

Fr. 33

Upper margin? I have tried joining fr. 35, itself a column-top, to give ] ριζειν (hex.), ]γα (pent.). But the fibres do not convince.

Fr. 34

3 Pent. end.

Fr. 37

2 Blank end (pent.)? Then 3 e.g. γνν]αικό[ς MLW.

Fr. 38

1 Perhaps ]μξϑον[. The second ν is wide, and could be taken as final. But if this is a pentameter, what to make of 2?

2 ο.[ is separated by a short space, and might be taken as a marginal note. But, since the writing looks the same, and the careful suprascript correction seems more appropriate to text, it is better to treat the gap as accident or punctuation.

Fr. 42

3 Either an exceptionally long line, or top of column.

Fr. 45

E.g. ά]λίων, ]α χξξ[μ- MLW.

P. J. PARSONS



## II. COMEDY

### 3966. MENANDER, *Karchedonios*, *Phasma* or another play

32 4B.4/E(1-5)c

12.4 × 11.7 cm

First century

Remains of sixteen lines of comedy (or, as I think more likely, of 15 plus *XOPOY*) are given by this scrap from the foot of a column. The back of the roll is blank; the lower margin is preserved up to 38 mm. The piece is linked by its handwriting to XXXIII 2654, which is identified by a quotation as part of a copy of Menander, *Karchedonios*, and also to the unassigned comic fragment PKöln I 4, which has been thought to be part of the same roll; the two are respectively nos. 157 and 159 in Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta* (1973). *Karchedonios* is therefore a possible identity for the present piece. Enough of the content can be made out (or so I believe) to show that we are concerned with the familiar domestic ritual of bringing the *loutra*, water from the fountain as for a nuptial bath, with a procession consisting of (at least) the woman who is the *loutrophoros*, a piper and a singer (it will be suggested that line 12 in fact represents a snatch of lyric); a bystander passes comments. None of this has yet been observed to link with any known text; but since the link by handwriting to *Karchedonios* need not be a binding one, it is reasonable to consider among other possibilities plays in which a wedding or weddings were a specially prominent motif. *Phasma* was such a play; and, as it happens, is referred to by one of the ancient metricians for its use of a lyric metre. Other identities can be considered. The fragment was discussed at a colloquium held in Geneva in 1988, and has been published with some discussion in Eric Handley-André Hurst, *Relire Ménandre* (Recherches et Rencontres 2, Geneva 1990): there the possibilities of *Kres* and *Hypobolimaïos* were noted by N. Zagagi (see below on 7-10), while Thomas Gelzer outlined a case for identification with *Georgos* (text, pp. 138 ff.; discussion, pp. 162-6). The general interest of the piece, which in some ways is akin to the beginning of Act III of *Dyskolos*, emerges not without difficulty from the detailed problems of palaeography, reading and interpretation which it offers.

The copyist writes in a small-to-medium upright hand of a basically formal character, but with some interesting variations in letter forms. It is the same as 'Hand 1' of 2654, which made its first appearance in mid-1968, and is no. 41 in Turner's *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (1971<sup>1</sup>; 1986<sup>2</sup>); it was in fact Turner himself who subsequently made the identification. 'Hand 2' of 2654 is larger, and its letters are 'broader, squarer and spikier' (*GMAW*, loc. cit.). The same contrast of styles is found in the Cologne fragment, first published in 1969, most of which is in 'Hand 2', but the last line of col. i is in 'Hand 1'. The strange (and so far unexplained) alternation seen in both pieces, together with the consideration that the Cologne piece

came reputedly from Oxyrhynchus,<sup>1</sup> led both Turner and Koenen to conclude that they are parts of the same roll, and therefore presumably of the same play; they agree also that 'Hand 1' and 'Hand 2' represent the work of two people and not one; they differ in assigning a date, in that Koenen thinks of the first century BC, while Turner's view, to which I incline, is for the first century AD.

In considering the three fragments together, one is reminded strongly, as so often in work on small pieces, how limited one is by the narrow extent of the data for analysis and comparison. The present fragment is set apart from the other two in that it has no alternation of styles, but a uniformity, and no sign of the marginal annotation which characterises **2654**; but who is to say whether that makes it part of a continuous passage in 'Hand 1' from that same roll, or part of another uniform roll by the same writer? By contrast, the new specimen shows that there are present within 'Hand 1' some variations in letter forms which had previously been seen as signs of distinction between the two hands, most notably in the case of alpha and mu.

In our piece, as in the other specimens of 'Hand 1', alpha is normally narrow and upright, made in three strokes with mid-line crossbar. But we now have a variant, in which the left side and crossbar are written together in downward and upward diagonal movements, to which the right side is then added: so, for instance, very clearly in the largely cancelled  $\alpha$ [[ $\phi\nu\pi\nu\iota\sigma\omicron\nu$ ]] in 12. That variant form is the one standard in 'Hand 2'; but 'Hand 2' does itself on occasion produce the narrower upright alpha, as in **2654**, 29  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta$ [; both forms are found there in  $\delta\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha$  35 and in  $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  37. The other triangular letters,  $\delta$  and  $\lambda$ , show minor variations of the same kind, as between an upright 'isosceles' pattern which is generally characteristic of 'Hand 1' and a more freely written 'equilateral' shape typical of 'Hand 2': so in our piece  $\delta$  in  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  16, as opposed to  $\eta\delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  11 or  $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\nu$  13;  $\lambda$  in  $\alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\varsigma$  7, as opposed to  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  15, where the second stroke meets the first half-way, as regularly in 'Hand 2'.

The regular mu of 'Hand 1' is made in four strokes, not unlike two juxtaposed lambdas; but it is also found in our piece in the more rapidly written three-stroke form characteristic of 'Hand 2'. The letter is a little abraded, but clear, in  $\mu\epsilon$  15, where the  $\epsilon$  that follows takes on a cursive form, with the base written first and then the top and cross-stroke in one movement. The same mu is followed by a formally written  $\epsilon$  in  $\mu\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\iota$ , 10. 'Hand 2', we may note in passing, is not without its lapses into informality, as can be seen from the eta-nu of  $\kappa\omicron\rho\eta\nu$ , **2654**, 38.

Some other palaeographical features are probably worth noting here, not only for comparative purposes, but because they may affect the interpretation of damaged or broken letters. The presence of links or small serifs at the end of strokes is intermittent, and can be noted both here and in the other fragments under discussion; it is common to 'Hand 1' and 'Hand 2'. Epsilon, apart from the instance of a cursive form noted above, varies here and in the other fragments between having a formal

<sup>1</sup> According to the dealer who sold it: Koenen, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 60.

straight cross-stroke, and one in which that stroke tends to detach from the body of the letter and to reduce to a dot. Kappa is most formally written as upright followed by limbs which meet it at mid-point and are formed by two neatly diverging diagonal strokes; but the diagonals can be made in a single curving movement, or three strokes can combine to make a less formal letter. The differences can be seen in our piece from *ακουσαιμ* 11; *και* 10; and *οικοτριψ* 16. The rho of 'Hand 1' is characteristically made with a narrow loop, but sometimes in the wider form that is regular in 'Hand 2', and is recognisable in that form, though damaged, in *κ|ρην[ν]ηc* 9. Tau can have a long top leading from the previous letter, and the vertical stroke may then go down rapidly from the right hand end of it; upsilon has similar minor variations. Of the round letters, omicron varies here and in the other fragments between an upright oval, with sides that can look deceptively straight when the letter is broken, to a compact small round; omega is in two joined curves in the 'Hand 1' style, weightier and more formally rounded in 'Hand 2'.

In short, the accession of new evidence makes it possible to reopen the question of the distinction between the two hands under discussion, and to ask whether they may not after all be the product of one person writing in two styles, rather than two in intimate collaboration. In either case the presence of striking common features is explicable; in neither is it clear what brought about the alternation. Of that, the present fragment shows no sign; nor, unlike the others, has it any sign of the activities of a reviser or editor. Though there is one correction (12), to all appearances that was made *currente calamo*; there is no punctuation or any other sign of lectional aids; only at 15/16 could we expect to see a paragraphos, and there, where the text seems to call for one, it is lacking. In other words, if this piece came from the same roll as either or both of the other two, it came from a part of the play in which there was less ostensible need, or less occasion, for extra work on the text. So far as I can see, nothing forbids that assumption, and nothing compels us to it. With *Karchedonios* indicated as a possibility by the handwriting of the fragment, the identity of the play it represents remains open to discussion.

*Phasma* was mentioned above as a possible host to our piece.<sup>1</sup> This idea began from the point that there are in that play several prominent references to a forthcoming wedding (10, 59, 61, 92) and one (somewhat obscure) reference to a line of lyric unlike, but possibly compatible with, what can be made of 12 (see the detailed notes

<sup>1</sup> Eric G. Turner, 'The *Phasma* of Menander', *GRBS* 10 (1969) 307–24 discusses the fragments published in the series as XXXVIII **2825** and has new observations on the Leningrad fragment. See also †S. Charitonidis—L. Kahil—R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène*, *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 6 (1970) 60–62 on the representation of a scene from Act II; Charles Garton, *Personal aspects of the Roman Theatre* (Toronto, 1972) 93–129; F. H. Sandbach, in Gomme-Sandbach, *Menander: a commentary* (1973); T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* (1974) 173–8; C. Corbato, 'Osservazioni su papiri menandrei: Il *Φάσμα* (POxy 2825, Fr. B, Col. II)', *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de papyrologie: troisième partie* (Brussels, 1979 = *Papyrologica Bruxellensia*, 18); text of **2825** with notes in Austin, *CGFP*, no. 195.

that follow). *Phasma* also has, in the shape of the 'vision' which gives the play its title, a girl kept secretly shut up indoors (14 ff. with Donatus' summary, and perhaps 85; see on ἔνδον ἐγκεκλειμένη in our fragment at 13). One more coincidence (if that is what it is): at *Phasma* 52 ff. a slave sarcastically suggests to his young master that for the non-disease of lovesickness a non-remedy would be apt. He is to undergo what Sandbach (ad loc.) describes as 'a ritual purification, washing and fumigation, sprinkling with water from three springs, in which salt and lentils have been thrown'. All else apart, ἀπὸ κρήνης (9) is not the same thing as ἀπὸ κρουνῶν τριῶν (*Phasma* 55). But is there some way in which these motifs could be related? Suppose that the young man did indeed send for water, and that the speaker we have called (Λ) in our fragment took its arrival for a *loutrophoria* of a different kind? This would not be wholly unlike the comic development at Terence, *Andria* 490 ff., in which Simo, having overheard the midwife's perfectly real instructions for the care of her charge, leaps to the conclusion that they are a trick to persuade him that a baby has just been born. One main difference is that the situation propounded here claims no higher status than that of speculation.

]...[  
 ]...[...][...]  
 ]ς [ ... ]  
 ]ησεανδρηθ.[  
 5 ]...[ ] ρ [ ... ]  
 ]...τερον...αυτος.[  
 ]...αληθεσο[...].οχο[ ... ]  
 ]λουτρατουτ.γαρ[ ... ]  
 ]...τοιςγαμουσινα.[ ]ρ.[ ]ηςφερειν  
 10 ]οσαυλονκαιτιμε...ο...ροσθεω.[ ... ]  
 ]...οτεπακουσαιμανηδεωσγυν.[ ... ]  
 ]...νισοναφυπνισονα[[φυπνισον]].[...].[ ... ]  
 ]...ηκαθευδενενδονεγκεκλει.[ ... ]  
 ]...εινγαρεμεμισθωτοπροστουτο[ ... ]  
 15 ]προσποιονυδροφορεινμεδεξιμελος.[...]...  
 ]παιδαριονοικοτριψγαρειναιμοιδοκει[ ... ]



- ]ης, ἐὰν δέηθ', ἄ[μα.  
*X]O* *P* *[OY*
- (A) ] .τερον γῆν αὐτὸς . [  
 τὸ πρᾶγ]μ' ἀληθές· ο[ί]νοχο[ῶν τις ἔρχετ' ἢ  
 φέρων τὰ] λουτρά· τοῦτο γὰρ[ νομίζεται  
 τὰ λουτρ]ὰ τοῖς γαμοῦσιν ἀπ[ὸ κ]ρή[ν]ης φέρειν,  
 ἄδειν πρ]ὸς αὐλόν· καί τι μέντοι – πρὸς θεῶν,  
 πάρες ]ποτ' – ἐπακούσαιμ' ἂν ἠδέως, γύνα[ι. 5
- (B) ἀφύπ]νισον, ἀφύπνισον; ἀπ[ο]φ[-
- (A) αὐτῇ κάθειυεν ἔνδον ἐγκεκλειμ[ένη·  
 ἄ]δειν γὰρ ἐμεμίθωτο πρὸς τοῦτο[ν. (C) τάλαν,  
 πρὸς ποῖον ὑδροφορεῖν με δεῖ μέλος ποτῆ;  
 <A> παιδάριον οἰκότριψ γὰρ εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ[. 10

1–3 are abraded, and 3 has, it seems, lost some letters entirely in that way

1 ] . . . [ , mid-line horizontal, then a round letter,  $\theta$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$ ; then a descender 4 On twisted fibres, parts of two verticals probably linked: i.e. ] $\eta$ c rather than ] .  $\mu$ c; at end, downward oblique,  $\alpha$ [ not  $\epsilon$ ],  $\rho$ [ 5 This line probably, but not verifiably, represents *XOPOY* rather than the remains of a verse. The surviving rho is at centre column and has blank (though abraded) surface either side; the line spacing looks a little wider than usual, and the letter itself, though of no more than normal size, is noticeably carefully formed. One more speck of ink, of indeterminate character, is at the place where *X]Q* could be divined, supposing that the spacing used was that familiar from the Bodmer *Dyskolos* and elsewhere. But not enough undamaged surface is preserved to make it certain that there was no continuous writing. There is no trace of the decorative lines which copyists sometimes add; and the place where a marginal sign of act-ending might have stood is lost with part of the left side of the column 6 ] ,  $\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$ :  $\tau$  has a long top, leading from  $\epsilon$ ,  $\sigma$  or  $c$ ; perhaps therefore ] $\xi\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$ , perhaps a comparative adjective of a suitable formation. Next, . . . : two dots of ink, one over the other, represent a vertical rather than a curve; then downward oblique, suits upper part of  $\nu$ ; then  $\kappa$  or  $\nu$ , represented by parts of vertical and oblique: i.e.  $\rho\psi\kappa$  (with improbable  $\sigma$ ) or (better)  $\nu\psi\nu$ . At the end,  $c$  joins the top of an upright or of  $\nu$  7 ] . suits  $\mu$  or  $\lambda$ , possibly  $\alpha$ ; if  $\kappa$  the upper arm should show ] .  $\sigma\chi\sigma$ [ , first is foot of a vertical, close to  $\sigma$ ;  $\chi$  rather than  $\lambda$ , judging both from general appearance and from a speck of ink at the top right 9 ] . end of sloping oblique  $\alpha\pi$ [ $\delta$   $\kappa$ ]  $\rho\eta$ [ $\nu$ ]  $\eta$ c can be guessed from the context; it can be verified by observing that the rho (with large bow, like the second of  $\psi\delta\rho\sigma\phi\sigma\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ , 15) and the top of a vertical which follows it stand on a tongue of papyrus which is slightly deflected to the right; with this allowed for, there is space suitable for the letters presumed lost;  $\pi$ , on fibres now twisted, appears to be represented by the junction of top and first upright 10  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\sigma\iota$  suits,  $\nu$  being represented by the top of a vertical immediately after  $\epsilon$  and the lower part of another,  $\tau$  by traces of top and upright,  $\iota$  simply by a foot  $\pi\rho\sigma$   $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$  is hardly in doubt, though for  $\pi$  there is only a speck of ink from the first upright,  $c$  is incomplete and the upper part of  $\theta$  abraded,  $\epsilon$  is split in half and  $\nu$  merely the top of the first stroke 11 ] . a vertical; an indeterminate dot of ink at the end 12 [ $\nu\pi$ ]  $\nu\iota\sigma\sigma\nu$  fills the space if the column is regular, and will scan as the beginning of a highly resolved trimeter. But song is in question, both from the context and from the appearance of the unusual word  $\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\iota\sigma\sigma\nu$  as a synonym for  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$ . It may therefore be that we have, written  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$ , a line that is something other than an iambic trimeter, as for instance dactylic hexameters among trimeters in the near-contemporary copy of Aristophanes, *Knights*, 2545: Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 37, with discussion pp. 8 and 12. In that case,  $\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\iota\sigma\sigma\nu$ ,  $\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\iota\sigma\sigma\nu$  could have begun the line, offering an interpretation congenial to the context and a strong hint from the word-division that the metre is fully resolved anapaests. The scribe then writes  $\alpha\phi\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\iota\sigma\sigma\nu$  once again, but immediately recognizes his mistake and crosses through the letters  $\phi\nu\pi\nu\iota\sigma\sigma\nu$ , leaving  $\alpha$  as the beginning of the next word. It is followed, after the deletion, by parts of an upright with a curving stroke near it, a gap, and the top of a tall upright.  $\alpha\pi$ [ $\sigma$ ]  $\phi$ - could be considered, and the degree of repetition present might help to explain the scribe's confusion 13 ] .  $\eta$  trace of ink on the line, with another higher and to right (could be parts of two letters), then high horizontal joins  $\eta$ , with a dot of ink from a vertical below it:  $\alpha\psi\tau\eta$  can be guessed, not confirmed 14 ] . fibres abraded: horizontal stroke perhaps joins  $\epsilon$  at mid-line, as for  $\alpha$ ]  $\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ ; but  $\delta$  may be high in relation to  $\epsilon$ , as in  $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma$  (11), so that  $\alpha$ ]  $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$  is hardly to be ruled out, though not suggested by the trace of ink 15 end, foot of vertical, could be  $\gamma$  or  $\pi$  with nothing lost; third is like  $\tau$ , with parts of vertical and cross-stroke present; last survives as part of a right-facing curve;  $\pi\sigma\tau\epsilon$  will do if the second, straight-looking, trace is part of  $\sigma$ : cf.  $\tau\sigma\tau\sigma$  in 8

(X.) [ ( ? ) ] too, in case of need.

C H] O R [U S

(A.) [ ] ( ? ) [ ]  
 [The whole thing is] genuine. [Here comes someone] as a wine-server, [or a bringer of the] nuptial bath; for this [is the custom,] to bring [the bath] for the bridal pair from the fountain, [and sing] to the pipe; and indeed—in the gods' name, [please let me]—I'd be happy to hear a bit, Ma'am.

(B.) (*Sings*) Awake, awake; away with [ ( ? ) weariness...



- (A.) So she was asleep in there, behind closed doors; for he is someone who was hired to sing with this one here...  
 (C.) [Oh, dear!] Whatever sort of song do I have to have for my water-carrying?  
 <A> ...and he looks to me like a domestic slave-boy

4 *ἐὰν δέητ(αι)* may be impersonal or may have a subject now lost; the ending *-ης* could (but need not) represent a genitive governed by it. Anticipating a need, and acting together or doing two things at once (? *ἄ[μ]α*) are both acceptable motifs for an exit at the end of an act, as at *Dysk.* 618 f. and *Sik.* 148 f.

6–14 Assuming *ΧΟΡΟΥ* in '5', the speaker's entrance is unmotivated, at any rate in the immediate context, but that is not uncommon in Menander: see on *Dysk.* 233 f. for some examples and further references; H.-D. Blume notes Plautus, *Poen.* 817. He seems to be spying on the neighbours: his behaviour is like that of a scouting slave, or a prying old man. Entering from one of the houses represented on stage, he observes a party of people approaching along the street. He interprets them as attendants on a wedding – a wedding which, he infers, is now really taking place. But is it (we may ask) quite the wedding he thinks it is? Is it even a wedding at all, or some other occasion for a *loutrophoria* which causes him to be mistaken? As we have the text, these possibilities are no more than that; for an audience or a reader of a complete text the matter will have been clear from the time it was arranged for the water to be fetched. That arrangement, on any interpretation, would be proper material for the previous Act: i.e. if *ΧΟΡΟΥ* is really there, and in the absence of any sign of the usual formula for the end of Act I, the play at this point should have reached Act III at earliest; and the parallel with *Dyskolos* suggests that Act III is not unlikely. 'If *χοροῦ* is right', remarks H.-D. Blume, 'a new act seems to begin early in the morning. This would imply that there is a second day of dramatic action, as in T. *Heaut.*'

6 Too damaged for more than guesswork, but the sense may have been on the lines of *ἔτι δηλ]ότερον ἴδῃν — αὐτὸ ἐη[μανεῖ — τόδε*: 'Clearer still this, as events will show'. The presumed *αὐτὸ ἐημανεῖ* is one of the variants of the proverbial *αὐτὸ δείξει* (*res indicabit*, T. *Eun.* 469); the phrase is favoured by Euripides (*Andr.* 265, *Pho.* 623, *Ba.* 976; cf. *Hel.* 151); but fourth century prose has the variants *αὐτὸ διδάξει* (P. *Prot.* 324 a5) and *αὐτὸ δηλώσει* (Dem. *False Embassy* (19). 157); more material is given by van Leeuwen on Ar. *Frogs* 1261. *κύ[εσημον σαφές* Thomas Gelzer, comparing *Perik.* 362/792.

7 *τὸ πρᾶγ]μ'* EGT; *ἀληθές* as in Antiphon 1. 6 *καίτοι αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐχρήν ... προθυμηθῆναι ὅπως τὸ πραχθὲν ἦ ἀληθές ἐπεξελεῖν*.

7–10 The restoration is based on *λουτρά* (8) and *τοῖς γαμοῦσιν ... φέρειν* (9); *ο[ι]νοχο[ῶν]*, though it fits, is no more than tentative. The speaker (I assume) sees water being brought: to mix with the wine for a party (he thinks) or for the customary nuptial bath. This institution is discussed by R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutike* (1962) 265 ff., who quotes representations in art (and see also 299 ff., with 314<sup>4</sup>, 406<sup>5</sup>). The relevant texts are set out in exemplary fashion by R. Wycherley, *Agora* iii (1957) 137 ff.; and they include Harpocration under *λουτροφόρος* and *λουτροφορεῖν* (Wycherley's no. 439) who remarks *μέμνηται δὲ τοῦ ἔθους οἱ κωμικοί*. Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 378 refers for *γαμήλια λουτρά* to Menander, *Kres* and *Hypobolimaios* (= fr. 52, 430 KT), two plays noted above as possible hosts for the present fragment. Netta Zagagi (see above, p. 51) notes that *Kres*, like *Karchedonios*, had a foreign hero: a reference to Athenian marriage customs would have its full effect if addressed to someone alien to them — or (it may be) if an alien were reflecting on them to himself. If the scene was in fact set in Athens, the water, by good custom, will have been drawn from the fountain Kallirhoe/Enneakrounos; according to Isocrates, *Antidosis* (15). 287, some people (young men of whom he disapproves) even used it to cool their wine (Wycherley 445). It is a fine grammatical point whether *ἀπὸ κρήνης φέρειν* would then be understood as 'bring water from the fountain', a place of familiar reference, or simply as 'bring fountain water': see KG i. 602 f. on *ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἔξω τείχους* and the like, and Ar. *Lys.* 328–9 with Henderson's note.

10 f. *ἄδειν* EGT

*καί ... μέντοι*: Denniston, *Particles* 413 ff.

*πρὸς θεῶν* appears in emotive questions or impassioned appeals, as in *τί, πρὸς θεῶν*; M. *Dysk.* 411 or *μή, πρὸς θεῶν*, *ib.* 956. Its verb should therefore be something lost before *ποτε* in 11; it can hardly belong with *ἐπακούσαιμ' ἄν*. Note especially *πάρες, πάρες πρὸς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῷ διαρραγήναι*, 'Do let him...', Ar. *Knights* 341; *πάρες μ'* 'Excuse me', M. *Sik.* 189; *πρὸς θεῶν πάρες* Com. Anon., P. Berol. 11771 (Page, *Lit. Pap.* 48.

7; Austin, *CGFP* 239. 7); for the ποτέ, see M. *Dysk.* 423 ἄνεσ ποτ' and Sandbach on *Epitr.* 268 (his 444). Discounting this, one can consider μέλος (Thomas Gelzer) or παρών (H.-D. Blume).

ἐπακούσαιμ' ἄν is strictly 'listen in' as a third party: Dover on Ar. *Clouds* 263.

ἠδέως 'gladly', M. *Dysk.* 9 and edd. ad loc.

γύναι is here apparently a polite form of address to a stranger, or at least to someone with whom one does not wish to assert a relationship: see Sandbach on its use by Habrotonon at *Epitr.* 539 ff. (his 860n). As the text is here set out, this remark is followed by a snatch of song by (B); the γυνή addressed breaks in with her comment on it at 14 f.; but more than one colleague in discussion preferred to think of a single speaker: *Relire Ménandre* (see p. 51) 164.

12 ἀφύπνικον: cf. E. *Rhes.* 23–5 συμμάχων, | Ἔκτορ, βᾶθι πρὸς εὐνάς, | ὄτρυνον ἔγχος αἶρειν, ἀφύπνικον — in this lyric passage the verb is transitive with its object understood; and so it may be here, 'wake (her) up', rather than 'awake', intr., a usage quoted by LSJ from Later Greek, namely, Philostratus, *vit. Apoll.* 2. 36, which Menander may have anticipated. From Comedy otherwise we have ἀφύπνιζεσθαι 'wake up' twice: Cratinus, *fab. inc.* 306K (= Eupolis, *Marikas* 205 K.-A.: anap. tet.) and Pherecrates, 191K/204K.-A. (Eupolideans). The normal word in Comedy, as elsewhere, is ἐγείρω, and it is found repeated, as ἀφύπνικον appears to be here, in Com. Anon., PSI 1176 (Page, *Lit. Pap.* 61. 2; Austin, *CGFP* 255. 2): ὡςτ' ἐγείρω, ἐγείρω δὴ | νῦν σε]αυτόν... All this suggests, even if it does not prove, an elevated, possibly a lyric tone. The end of the story comes with the insistence that ἀφύπνικαι is correct Attic, as opposed to ἐξυπνίκαι: Moeris, p. 61 (190. 28); cf. Phrynichus, *ecl.* 195 Fischer.

Damage, correction, and the loss of the end of the line make interpretation hazardous. Assuming ἀφύπνικον, ἀφύπνικον..., fully resolved anapaests (proceleusmatics) are likely from the word-division: see M. L. West, *Gk Metre* 123 and A. M. Dale in *Coll. Papers* (1969) 135 f. A possible continuation might be ἀπ[ό]φ[ε]ρε κάματον, or even something longer. If the *loutrophoros* expected regular dimeters, or something else she could march to with decorum, her protest is perhaps understandable; for according to Aphthonius, *Grammatici Latini* vi. 99K, quoted by West, loc. cit., proceleusmatics were typical of satyric choruses' entries. The use of full resolution to express agitation and flutter is evident in the parodos of Ar. *Birds*, 310 f., 314 f., 328 ff. ~ 344 ff., as well as in some choral lines from the satyrs in Sophocles, *Inachos*, P. Tebt. 292 = F269c Radt, 16 f., 25 ff., 34 ff., where there may be highly resolved anapaestic lines among the highly resolved dochmiacs<sup>1</sup>. An epigram by Diogenes Laertius, 6. 79 (= *Anth. Pal.* 7. 116), in what the author himself calls τὸ προκελευσματικὸν μέτρον, consists of a pair of dimeters fully resolved except for the last element (West, op. cit. 170<sup>25</sup>): one wonders what model he had for this *jeu d'esprit*.

It is interesting that Caesius Bassus, *GL* vi. 225K, quotes Menander from the *Phasma* for the use of resolution in ithyphallic metre (—υ—υ—υ—); since lyric in Menander is so rare, and since lyric anapaests do mix with single-short patterns, it seems justifiable to raise the possibility that the present song continued further with similar metrical effects, and that it is in fact the lyric being noted. The other two instances of song in Menander also attracted the attention of ancient commentators (I do not count the iambic tetrameters delivered to music in the last act of *Dyskolos*). The anapaests at the beginning of *Leukadia* (258 Kō), known from Strabo supplemented by Hesychius, are remarked on by Hephaestion, *de poem.* vi. 3 (p. 173 Consbruch); a song in *Theophoroumene* is attested by a scholiast on E. *Andr.* 103 and appears to be represented in the papyrus fragment printed by Sandbach, *OCT*, p. 146, in which iambic lines are interspersed with lyric hexameters: cf. *BICS* 16 (1969) 88–101.

13 f. A. is thinking aloud. The imperfect tense of κάθεισεν, and the corresponding 'imperfect' element in ἐμεμίσθωτο describe an existing situation which the speaker has only just recognized—not with surprise, as in the common ἦν ἄρα, but by reflection, as in the imperfect which is sometimes (perhaps misleadingly) called 'philosophic': Goodwin, *Moods & Tenses* §§39–40; KG I. 145 f.

ἔνδον ἐγκεκλειμένη also at *Theoph.* 22 (and see discussions of κατακεκλειμέν[ in *Phasma*, 2825 [Austin, *CGFP* 195. 45]). I am not sure what are the implications of 'shut up inside': does it imply some form of restraint, or merely being in the women's quarters in a bedroom with a bolt, for which see T. *Eun.* 603?

14 τάλαν: for the exclamation and its placing in the line, see *Epitr.* 370/547, and further Sandbach on 258/434 of that play. Thomas Gelzer suggests πρὸς τοῦτ'. [(C) εἰπέ μοι, comparing *Perik.* 197/387.

15 ποτέ, as commonly, with intensive force in a question: LSJ s.v. III. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Dr James Diggle exhorts me to caution on this point.

16 οἰκότριψ, a domestic slave, the player of the pipe, as opposed to the professional singer. In spite of the lack of a paragraphos under 15, the contrast, and the continuing use of γάρ, suggest that the words belong to A, continuing to work out the situation for himself. If the *loutrophoros* is to continue, she can in theory say 'he seems to me' (or, with δοκεῖ[ς] 'you seem to me') 'to be a domestic slave-boy' (and not a professional musician); but, so expressed, that seems to me highly improbable dramatic writing when the other speaker has just used the word ἐμεμίθωτο; too many things would be happening at once.

E. W. HANDLEY

**3967.** MENANDER, *Misoumenos* 381–403, 404\*–418\*

48 5B.30/G(1–2)c

7.5 × 17.5 cm

Third century

**3967** comes from a roll containing accounts on the front and on the back Menander's *Misoumenos* written in a fairly regular, medium-sized hand similar to that of three other copies of Menander on the back of documentary rolls from Oxyrhynchus, **3968**; *Dis Exapaton* (Sandbach O<sup>13</sup>); and the—rather less tidy—*Misoumenos* **3368**. On these see below p. 70.

FR. 1 contains a passage from Act IV already known from a badly abraded leaf of **2656** (O<sup>10</sup>),<sup>1</sup> vv. 381–403, plus the remains of five more verses, here labelled 404\*–408\* to distinguish them from the verses preserved in **1605** (O<sup>7</sup>) which have already been given these numbers. It is made up of four smaller fragments, one containing the middle parts of 383–395 with traces of 381–2 and 396–7; a second containing part of 400–408\* with traces from 399; a narrow strip with one or two letters from the middle of vv. 394–9; and lastly a scrap, three to four letters wide, with the remains of six lines, the last of which appears to join directly onto the end of v. 401: the break passes through the tongue of ε in καταλιπεῖν. The preceding five lines seem to tally with what little can be read of the last metron of vv. 396–400 in O<sup>10</sup>. Fr. 2 consists of two smaller fragments. A series of diagonal dashes on the front of both fr. 1 and fr. 2 against the entries in the account and a worn strip on the back of fr. 1 running downwards from the first iota in καταλιπεῖν in 401 and apparently continuing through τ and η in fr. 2. 1 and 2 suggest that fr. 2 belongs under the right-hand half of fr. 1 and it seems possible to insert the first line of fr. 2 into the last but one line of fr. 1 (407\*) with the join running through the cross-bar of tau. If this placing is correct, fr. 1 and 2 between them contain the last 33 vv. of Act IV (381–403 plus 10 new verses, 404\*–413\*) and then, after the usual stage direction X O P O ] Y, the first five verses of Act V, 414\*–418\*. Act IV begins with 276; if, therefore, fr. 2 joins directly onto fr. 1, this act would have 138 verses—or rather, 140 counting the inserted verses

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Turner, *New Fragments of the Misoumenos of Menander* (BICS Suppl. 17, 1965); and *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXXIII* (1968) pp. 15–55 and 120–1. O<sup>10</sup> in Sandbach's *Oxford Classical Text* (1972) and in Francesco Sisti, *Menandro: Misoumenos* (1985); O<sup>3</sup> in C. Austin, *CGFPR* 151.



375b and 380b; or not very many more if fr. 2 is placed lower down in the column.<sup>2</sup> Assuming that fr. 1 and 2 do join, the missing innermost double page of O<sup>10</sup> ('E') will have contained the last ten verses of Act IV followed by *XOPOY* and, at  $\pm 38$  lines to the page, the first 140 or so verses of Act V, the final 38 verses of which are preserved on the second half of D $\rightarrow$ . In other words, Act V had about 178 verses. Col. ii of **1605**, which directly precedes and overlaps D $\rightarrow$  ii, could then be tentatively renumbered 545 ff. and D $\rightarrow$  ii 556–593.

Fr. 3 is as yet unplaced. It has slight traces of writing on the front but no dashes, so it must occupy a position nearer the middle of the verses than fr. 2, probably in the lower part of the column.

The writer uses an apostrophe twice in 388 (see also app. crit. on 389) and a dash after *οργη]c* in 387 (high stop, like that in **3971** 3, or apostrophe?). He seems to have added something above 407\*. He must have had trouble reading the exemplar he copied as he has left a blank space in 386; in 388 π[. . ]ταθ' may be a misinterpretation of πάντα altered to πάνθ' (see note on 388); in 393 he seems to have read *προσθεν* as *προσσον* or *προσσειν*; in 402 the exemplar may have had scriptio plena: *ευπαθουσα ετιμωρησατο*, as the papyrus has ]*cαcτιμω[*; in 394 *αλ* is a slip for *ἀλλ(ἀ)* (on *κ* in 387 see note below). In addition, the text appears to differ from that of O<sup>10</sup> in 384; in 390 O<sup>10</sup> seems to have a tau before *ἀτύχημα* which this papyrus doesn't have; in 393 this papyrus has *τα* after *οὔτ]ωc ἔχει* which is omitted in O<sup>10</sup>; in 395 O<sup>10</sup> has *οικτω*, this papyrus . . . ]*ρω: οἰκτρῶ* for *οἰκτω* (?); in 401 it has *καταλιπεῖν* which emphasizes the finality of the bequest better than O<sup>10</sup>'s *καταλείπειν*.

Vv. 381–413\* seem to be the end of a long monologue of the jilted hero, Thrasonides.<sup>3</sup> 389 *μέλει τ' ἐμοὶ ταύτης* and 390 *ἐκεῖ[νον οὐ] ψέγω* are certainly spoken by him. 391–398 contain a series of questions, roughly: 'So you can't stop him taking her back? ... Are you going to let her go? ... What's your life (going to be) like (without her)?'. The speaker appears to be answering his own questions with objections: 394 *ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ* and possibly 392 f. *παντ]αχοῦ / οὔτωc ἔχει*, in a way similar to that in which Getas takes sides in the conversation he imagines he would have had with Demeas in 314–319 (see below, n. 4). This is almost certainly Thrasonides talking to himself in the second person. In 398/9–403 he exhorts himself to take comfort from the thought that, while life is painful for him, Krateia has reason to be ashamed of herself for the rest of hers (cp. Demeas' self-exhortation in *Sam.* 349 ff.). In 403 he has an idea and changes back to the first person (*πῶc οὐκ ἔστι μοι*—;) in a manner similar to that in which Demeas changes from second to first and back to second person in *Sam.* 325 ff. (See Blundell quoted in n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Thirty-nine lines of the column are preserved; it may have had up to fifty like **3368** (*Misum.* A 1 ff., 50 lines) and O<sup>13</sup> (*Dis Exapaton*, 51 lines), see **3968** introd.

<sup>3</sup> On the interpretation of this passage see C. Austin, *CR* NS. 16 (1966) 297, R. Merkelbach, *RhM* 109 (1966) 107 f. n. 29, A. Borgogno, *SIFC* 4 (1969) 48 f., W. Kraus, *RhM* 114 (1971) 22, T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Menander* (1974) 166, J. Blundell, *Menander and the Monologue* (1980) 69.

Thrasonides' servant Getas, who was on stage until around v. 350, may still be there if *τοῦτον* in 405\* refers to him, but there is no indication that any of the lines in this section are spoken by him nor any clear reference to his leaving the stage with Thrasonides at the end of the act. He might, however, be the speaker at the beginning of Act V, see note on 414\*. A hitherto unknown character is mentioned in 387: the name Simiche (or Simike) can just be made out in O<sup>10</sup>. It has not appeared before in the fragments of the *Misoumenos*. In the *Dyskolos* it is the name of Knemon's old woman-servant. Here Simiche might be Kleinias' servant, referred to as γ[ρ]αυ(ς) in the nota personae at v. 184 and spoken to by Kleinias simply as γραῦ in 280; or, as seems more likely if Thrasonides is again waiting outside his own house for a sign of a change of heart from Krateia, she may be a member of his household, perhaps Krateia's old nurse (see 208 ff. where she has a mute role); unless the nurse is the person referred to as []ρῦ in the nota personae at 155 (see Webster, *Introd. to Men.* 165; the speakers in this scene, however, are probably not Krateia and her nurse, but the nurse and another woman from Thrasonides' house, see Merkelbach, *RhM* 109 (1966) 101, Sisti p. 99 on *Mis.* 132). It looks as though Simiche does not have a speaking part in this passage: Thrasonides might ask her (388), 'τί φής;' and she might reply, 'πέπονθε (Krateia has suffered)', whereupon he interrupts: 'are you taking her part? (ὑπερ ταύτης λαλεῖς;)' but then the τε after μέλει in 389 does not form a convincing connection with λαλεῖς. It is possible, as Handley points out, that Simiche does not in fact enter at 387 and that Thrasonides merely remarks to himself that she has left the house because this has some bearing on his own situation (Handley refers to *Dysk.* 259 ff. where Sostratos alters his plan because he has not found Getas at home); but the obvious interpretation of Σ. ἐξελήλυθεν is that she has come out and is going to talk to him. In this case there seem to be two possible ways of understanding 388-389, (1) S. has come out to comfort Thras. but he goes on about himself and won't listen to her: (Thras.) 'What d' you say?—I've suffered everything—(to S.) Are you talking about her?—and I care for her ... —don't say that?', so she goes away again. As this interpretation lacks dramatic motivation I would suggest (2) Krateia and Demeas are in Thrasonides' house; they are afraid that he will turn violent (cp. 320-322) and try to stop Krateia leaving with her father; Simiche comes out to try to persuade him that Krateia has suffered and that if he loves her unselfishly he should let her go: (Thras. to S.) 'What do you say? She's suffered everything (you say)?—Are you talking about her?—(389) and (τε, you say) I care for her just for my own sake?—Don't say that!—(390) and (? τε) that it's my hard luck?—I'm not blaming Demeas'. Compare Act IV i 1 (276) where Kleinias enters asking his womanservant, who is mute here, τί φής; and then repeats what she has been telling him, and 211 f. where Krateia does the same with her nurse.<sup>4</sup> This brief encounter with Simiche may serve the purpose of

<sup>4</sup> On the way in which Menander's characters, sometimes without clear signals, quote other people's words see Eric Handley in *Relire Ménandre, Recherches et Rencontres* 2 (Geneva 1990), 137 f. Τί φής or φής is used in *Mis.* 211, 259, 276, *Dysk.* 50 and 456 by someone who has just come onto the stage in conversation (see G.-S. on *Mis.* 258 f.). Here it seems to be said by Thrasonides who is already on stage to a mute person entering.

making Thrasonides realize that he can't bring himself to stop Demeas taking back his daughter; then comes the misery at the thought of life without Krateia and then the bright idea: (403) 'Why can't I pretend to (-ειν με προσποού[μεν-]) ... and send this (fellow?) to ... (π)έμφαι τούτον εἰ[ς ...]'. Perhaps he is thinking of pretending to kill himself and sending Getas to Krateia in the hope that his description of his master's 'tragic end' may stir her pity after all. This passage might then prepare the audience for the culminating scene in Act V depicted on a mosaic in Mytilene<sup>5</sup> where Getas may be showing Krateia, now reunited with her brother(?), how Thrasonides has 'hanged' himself.<sup>6</sup>

Thrasonides' monologue contains echoes of the passage which prepares the ground for it, Getas' monologue in 284 ff.: 315 ~ 392 f. πανταχοῦ, 316 ἐλεεῖν ~ 387 ἐλεεινός, 321 κ[τα]νεῖν ἑαυτόν ~ 404\* ], εἰν με (?), 321 βλέπει δὲ πύρ ~ 397 ἀρπάσαι βλέπων. The last verse of the act, κ]αὶ τρικαθλ[ι-, echoes Thrasonides' words before he

<sup>5</sup> See S. Charitonidis—L. Kahil—R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (Bern 1970) = *Antike Kunst*, Beiheft 6, pp. 57–60 with plates 8, 1 and 24, 1; L. Kahil, 'Remarques sur l'iconographie des pièces de Mén.', *Entret. Hardt* 16 (1969) 244 f.; T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*<sup>2</sup>, BICS Suppl. 24 (1969) YM2 (1568), p. 300 f. = Green—Seeberg—Webster, *MLNC*<sup>3</sup>, BICS Suppl. 50 (1991) 6 DM 2, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the scene, *Aspis* 399 f., in which Daos fools Smikrines into thinking that Chairestratos is dead. For the above interpretation of the mosaic see W. Kraus, *RhM* 114 (1971) 26 and T. B. L. Webster, *Introd. to Menander* 166 f. It shows three figures: on the left a slave who has twisted his himation round his neck and is tugging excitedly at one end (Getas?), on the right a woman holding up a hand (Krateia?) and between them a sallow-faced young man who appears to be passing a hand behind the slave's head to stop him tugging at his himation. Prof. Handley has pointed out to me that his full head of hair suggests he is a soldier, not Krateia's elderly father (he refers to Plautus' *Miles* v. 64, *vide caesaries quam decet*, and to the shaggy young men *MLNC*<sup>2</sup> DT 17 (p. 73) and MT 17 (p. 81) = Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*<sup>2</sup> figs. 116 and 117), so he could be either Thrasonides himself or Krateia's missing soldier-brother, either of whom could be pale (Thras. from love, the brother from wounds/sickness, see Fr. 11 ἐνερόχρωσ, referred to the brother by Webster p. 166 n. 78; by Kraus (supra cit. p. 4) to Thrasonides). However, the scene also appears on a cake mould from Ostia (AK 6 p. 60 and Pl. 26, 3 and 4, *MLNC*<sup>2</sup> IT 80 (p. 222) = *MLNC*<sup>3</sup> 6 FL 1) with the slave holding his himation in exactly the same way, a central figure with shoulder-length hair held by a band holding up a hand like Krateia in the mosaic and a long-haired, kneeling figure holding a hand to their head as if weeping; if the central figure here is Krateia, the person on their knees ought to be Thrasonides rather than her brother.



enters his house to ask Demeas for Krateia's hand in marriage at the end of Act III, v. 260 f. *νῦν ἢ μακάριον ἢ τρικαθλιώτατον / δείξεις με τῶν ζώντων ἀπάντων γεγονότα.*<sup>7</sup>

My thanks are due to Professor Eric Handley who kindly looked at a draft of this edition and made some very helpful suggestions and corrections, to Professor Herwig Maehler, especially for his help in deciphering **2656**, and to Dr Walter Cockle who provided me with photographs of both papyri. I suspect that **2656** is even less easy to read now than it was when Turner first deciphered it; although some of the new readings suggested in the following pages may be right, they have to be accepted with caution.

<sup>7</sup> There are also one or two echoes of Menelaos' speech in Euripides' *Helena* 947 ff. which, although probably not deliberate allusions, suggest that Menander had read or listened to that play recently (*Hel.* 953 *εὐψυχία*, 955 *ἀπολαβεῖν δάμαρτ' ἐμήν*, 987 *ἀθάνατον ἄλγος σοί*, 992 *ἐλευδὸς ἦν*).

## Fr. 1

- 381 . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ] . [ . . . . . ]  
 ]ειπω[ . . . . . ] . . [ . . . . . ]  
 ] . ε[ ]τηγα[ . . . ]αν[ . . . ]  
 385 ]αγα[ρ]φρασαι . . . ] . ον . [ . . . ]  
 ]ηλθ εν συν . [ . . . ]  
 ]ελεεινο[ ]σιμιχ[ . . . ]  
 ]ηςπεπονθ' [ ]π[ . . ]ταθ' υ . [ . . . ]  
 ]ειτεμοιτα[ . . . ] . οδιδε . [ . . . ]  
 390 ]νατυχηματ . . τεκε . [ . . . ]  
 ]ουνεξεστιτουτοσοι[ . . . ]  
 ]τηναπολαβειντουτ[ . . . ]  
 ]ωσεχειταπροσ . . γεν[ . . . ]  
 ]ηναφηξε[ι]σαλερετ[ . . . ]  
 395 ]ρωτομισου[ν]ωσσεαν[ . . . ]  
 ]ε[ ]τοτη[ . . . ]ρ . ας[ . . . ]  
 ]τα[ . . . ] . . αις[ . . . ]  
 ]α[ . . ]ασαιβ . [ . . . ]  
 ] . [ ] . [ ]ωννν[ . . . ]  
 400 ]οδυννηρωσα[ . . . ]  
 ]καταλιπέινσε[ . . . ]  
 ]αστιμω[ . . . ]  
 403 ]τη[ ]δονταπωσο[ . . . ]  
 404\* ] . ενμεπροσποου[ . . . ]  
 405\* ]εμφαιτουτονε . [ . . . ]  
 406\* ]εν . δ[ . . ]ησθαι . [ . ]εσ[ . . . ]  
 407\* = Fr. 2, 1? ] . . ρ [ . . . ] . . νουτω[ . . . ] Fr. 2  
 408\* = Fr. 2, 2? ] . [ ] ωτηκ . . . [ . . . ]  
 409\* = 3 ]υχοισαγει[ . . . ]  
 410\* = 4 ]τιςπ . [ . ]η[ . . . ]  
 411\* ]ανόσιωτ[ . . . ]  
 412\* ]ησιντιν . [ . . . ]  
 413\* ]αιτρισαθλ[ . . . ]  
 ]Υ [ . . . ]  
 414\* ] . αυτον[ . . . ]  
 415\* ]νη . ου . [ . . . ]  
 416\* ]τοφαρμ[ . . . ]  
 417\* ]εστ[ . . . ]  
 418\* ]ρ . [ . . . ]

## Fr. 3

5 ] . [ . . . ]  
 ]οση . [ . . . ]  
 ] . οιν . [ . . . ]  
 ]οδν . [ . . . ]  
 ]αθην[ . . . ]  
 ]μιζω[ . . . ]

## 2656 + 3967 frg. 1 + 2

- . . . . . ]ειπωσειρ[.]π[. . . . .] . . . . .  
 . . . . . ]ε[ ]την α[. . . .]αν[. . . .]ε.ι[  
 385 . . .]α γὰρ φρασαι . . . .ον.ο.ωτ.[. . .][  
 ἐ]ξῆλθενεχ. . . . συν.[ ?  
 ὀργῆς· ἐλεινός· Σιμίχη ἔξελήλυ[θ]εν.  
 τί φῆς; πέπονθ' ἄπα[ν]θ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης λαλ[εῖ]ς  
 μέ[λ]ει τ' ἐμοὶ ταύτης δι' ἐμαυτὸν μ. . λέγε·  
 390 ἐμόν τ' (?) ἀτύχημα τοῦτ' ἐκεῖ[νον οὐ] ψέγω.  
 οὐκουν ἔνεστι τοῦτό σοι τ. κωλύε[ι]ν  
 ταύτην ἀπολαβεῖν τοῦτο[ν? < - >παντ]αχοῦ  
 οὕτως ἔχει τὰ πρόσθε[ν] γενό[μενα? . .] . α. . [  
 τὸ ζῆν· ἀφήσεις; ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ 'θ' ἐλξ[εις, τὰ]λαβ, (?)  
 395 οἴκτω τὸ μισοῦν; (?) ὡς σεαυτὸν ἀσχα[λάς].  
 καὶ τίς ὁ βίος σοι; ποῦ τὸ τῆ[ς] ε[ω]τηρίας [(?)  
 ἐπίσημον; εἴ τις . . . σεταί[. . .] . . αἰς[. .]εἰ  
 πλεονεξία τοῦτ' ἐ. . . . ἀρπάσαι βλέπων  
 ἴσως ἰταμὸς εἶ· τῶ[ς]τε;? λογισμῶ νῦν γενοῦ  
 400 εὐψυχος· ἀ[π]όρως ζῆς, ὀδυνηρῶς, ἀσθενῶ[ς]  
 ὄνειδος αὐτῆ τοῦτο καταλιπεῖν σε δεῖ  
 ἀθάνατον· εὐπαθοῦς' ἐτιμωρήσατο  
 τὸν τὰγάθ' αὐτῆ δόντα. πῶς ο[ὐ]κ ἔ[ς]τι μοι  
 . . . εἰν με προσποου[μεν-  
 405\* π]έμψαι τοῦτον εἰ[ς  
 ]εν. δ[. .]ησθαι[. .]ε[ς]  
 . . . [ . . . ]  
 ]γὰρ [ . . ἐς]τιν οὕτω[  
 ].[ . . . ]ωτηκ. . . . [ . . . ]  
 . . . . . ]υχοισαγει[  
 410\* . . . . . ]τισπα[. .]η[  
 . . . . . ]ἀνοσιωτ[  
 . . . . . ]ησιν τινα[  
 . . . . . κ]αὶ τρισαθλ[ι-  
 ΧΟΡΟ]Υ  
 ἐ]μαυτὸν ν[  
 415\* ]νη που τ[  
 . . . . . ] τὸ φάρμ[ακον  
 . . . . . ]εστ[  
 . . . . . ]ρ. [

381 ] .[: stroke sloping down from left to right, possibly *a* 382 ] .[: possibly tail of *a*  
 383  $\omega$ [: left-hand part of  $\omega$  more likely than  $\sigma$  ] .[: tip of letter followed by cross bar of  $\pi$  or  $\tau$   
 384 ] $\rho$  $\epsilon$ ? Small, high circle (or flaked blob) followed by  $\epsilon$  rather than  $\sigma$ ;  $\epsilon$ [ $\iota$ ] possible  $\nu$ [ or  $\mu$ [  
 385  $\gamma\alpha$ [: tail of *a* appears to curve round and up  $\phi\rho\alpha\alpha\iota$ : top of  $\rho$ , bottom corners of  $\alpha$ ;  $\iota$  a hasta closely  
 followed by lower part of slightly sloping stroke ( $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ?) Before  $\sigma\nu$  trace at mid-letter level (e.g.  $\mu$ ,  $\kappa$ ?);  
 after  $\nu$  dot on base line 386 ] $\eta$ : second hasta After  $\theta$  gap of one letter; after  $\epsilon\nu$  gap of 7–8 letters  
 After  $\sigma\nu$  upright with thickened foot 387 After ] $\epsilon$  high stop (?short horizontal stroke slanting slightly  
 down from right; too short to be cross-bar of  $\gamma$ : a trace below it which could be the upright seems to be  
 unintentional. It does not curve round, so hardly apostrophe) After  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\iota\nu\sigma$  a hole with traces low on  
 left-hand edge and high on right:  $\zeta$  or sigma + high stop  $\kappa$  or  $\chi$ , see note on 387 388 ] $\eta\zeta$  or ] $\eta\epsilon\zeta$   
 with iota close to sigma; trace after sigma: possibly low stop or dicolon? After  $\pi\epsilon\pi\sigma\nu\theta$  apostrophe (? too  
 hooked and high for tip of alpha), a small hole hardly big enough for a letter, then  $\pi$  (or could be  $\eta$ )  
 If  $\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$  was written, first *a* would have been very small and  $\alpha\nu$  crowded 389 Cross-bar of first tau  
 appears to bend downwards at end (rather low for apostrophe) ] . high speck, but no tail, so  $\tau\alpha$ [ $\nu$ ] $\eta\zeta$ ,  
 not  $-\alpha\zeta$  ] . looks like  $\sigma$  but  $\mu$  is possible 390 Traces fit  $\tau\sigma\nu\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ [ 391  $\sigma\iota$ [: or  $\sigma\upsilon$ [: the upright  
 is rather curved for  $\iota$  392  $\tau$ [: cross-bar and seriphed foot of  $\tau$ , hardly  $\pi$ [ 393 After  $\pi\rho\sigma$ ,  $\zeta$  or  
 $\sigma$ , certain  $\zeta$ ,  $\epsilon$  or  $\sigma$  with a blob on top (i.e.  $\sigma$  corrected to  $\epsilon$ ?  $\theta$  less likely),  $\nu$  looks more probable than  $\nu$ ,  $\gamma$   
 rather than  $\zeta$ :  $\pi\rho\sigma\zeta\epsilon\upsilon$ ,  $\pi\rho\sigma\zeta\sigma\nu$  (or  $\epsilon\nu$ )  $\gamma\epsilon\nu$ [- 394 After  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$  the fibres are disturbed: rounded letter  
 followed by low trace which may be its bottom part displaced, then another rounded letter, i.e.  $\theta\epsilon$ [: rather  
 than  $\theta\rho\epsilon$ [:  $\sigma\epsilon$ [: possible 395 ] $\rho$ : top of circle visible, not  $\tau$  After *a* a break, then a strip of fibre bearing  
 an upright with a thickened upper part:  $\alpha\nu$ [:? 396 After ] $\rho$  tip of letter, probably  $\iota$  397 Before  $\tau\alpha$ [:  
 trace on loose fibre strip looks rather high for  $\epsilon$  ( $\iota$  or  $\eta$  would also be possible) ] .: loop of  $\rho$  (or high  $\sigma$ )  
 followed by  $\iota$  or  $\gamma$  (or  $\rho$ ) 398 Second ] $\alpha$ : just tail  $\beta$  .[: smudged  $\beta$  followed by bottom of slanting  
 stroke ( $\lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ ?)  $\mu$  might also be possible 399 ] .[: the traces appear to join up to make  $\gamma$  with a  
 seriph on foot ] .[:  $\zeta$ ? ] $\omega$  rather than  $\sigma$  i.e.  $\lambda\sigma$ ] $\gamma$ ] $\iota$ ] $\zeta$ ] $\mu$ ] $\omega$  403 Slight trace between  $\eta$  and  $\delta$  is  
 probably corner of  $\delta$ , not foot of iota adscriptum 404\* ] .[: foot, perhaps of sloping stroke ( $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\chi$ )  
 rather than of straight? 405\* ] $\epsilon$  is oddly formed with a top stroke like a gravis ] .[:  $\iota$ ?  
 406\* ] $\epsilon$  certain After  $\nu$  tip of letter, then top of  $\delta$  or  $\alpha$   $\alpha$ [: upright very close to *a*  
 407\* (=fr. 2. 1) ] .: upright flanked by traces, then tail of  $\alpha$ ; could be  $\gamma\alpha\rho$  with splodges Above  $\rho$   
 first letter indecipherable, if there; second rounded ( $\sigma$ ,  $\zeta$ , ...) ] .:  $\nu$ : ] $\tau$ ] $\nu$  rather than ] $\epsilon$ ] $\nu$  Before  $\omega$  speck  
 on upper level on fr. 1: could be tip of cross-bar of  $\tau$ [ on fr. 2. 1 408\* Under  $\rho$  in 407 speck only  
 $\tau$  might also be  $\zeta$  After  $\kappa$  two specks on lower level, followed by rounded letter 409\*  $\sigma\iota$  or perhaps  $\sigma\nu$   
 $\nu$ : end of diagonal and second upright (flaked)  $\iota$ : only a trace 410\* ] $\tau$ ] $\iota$  could also be read as  $\gamma\nu$ ,  
 as the cross-bar droops; apparently not  $\tau$ ] $\eta$ ] $\nu$  First half of  $\pi$  is there; after it  $\alpha$ ? ] $\eta$ [: more likely than  $\pi$   
 or  $\mu$  412\* ] $\eta$  corrected from  $\zeta$ ? ] .[: slight trace below line, might be  $\alpha$  414\* ] .[: downwards-  
 sloping stroke:  $\mu$ ?  $\nu$ [ or  $\mu$ [ 415\* After  $\eta$  a hasta on a fibre which has slipped to the right: could  
 be second upright of  $\nu$  or  $\pi$   $\sigma\nu$  fairly certain (right-hand part of  $\sigma$  also displaced) After  $\nu$  tip of cross-  
 bar,  $\tau$ ? 418\* ] .[: high speck only

## Fr. 3

1 Foot of hasta 2 ] .[: foot of sloping stroke 3 ] $\kappa\sigma\omega\omega$ [: probable 4  $\delta\nu\sigma$ [: probable  
 6 ] $\mu$  looks rather like  $\chi\iota$ , as second oblique stroke doesn't quite touch following upright

'(387) ... Poor me! Simiche has come out.—What are you saying?—has suffered everything—are you talking about her?—and I (only) care for her for my own sake—don't say that!—and this is my (?) misfortune—I don't blame him. (391) Can't you do this? (? Why did you hesitate to) prevent him taking her back?—That's how it is everywhere. The things which happened before ... life. Are you going to let her go?—But she'll say, "(Do you think) you're going to lull my hatred with (your) compassion, you hapless fellow? How sorry you feel for yourself!'"(?) And what's your life (going to be) like (without her)? What will be the point of having saved her (or: having survived)? If one ..., is this being grasping? Maybe you're being impetuous, looking ready to grab (her). Now use reason (or: this argument?) and take heart: your life is without hope, painful, feeble; you must leave her this as a reproach she won't live down: although she was treated well, she took vengeance on the man who gave her the good things. (403) Why can't I ... pretending that I (have killed myself?) ... send this (slave?) into ....'

383 In O<sup>10</sup> ] .ace.ρ[. . .] could be read . . . . . ]επωσειρ[. . .]. With the new papyrus this becomes × -υ ]ειπωσειρ[. . .]π[ and the syllable beginning with ρ ought to be short.

384 . . . . . ]κρινητηγηα[. . . . .].ε.ι[ O<sup>10</sup>. A partial agreement might be reached by reading e.g. μέχ]ρε[ι] in the new papyrus and μέ]χρι in O<sup>10</sup> or, taking ]ρ in the new papyrus as the flaked top of the second upright of nu, κρι]νε[ι] in this, ]κρινῆ in the other papyrus, followed by τῆν α[. . .]αν (e.g. τῆν αἰτίαν H.M.); but this doesn't leave enough room for the beginning of the verse in the new papyrus: cὺ <δ' ἀπο>κρινεῖ . . . , ὁ/ῆ <δ' ἀνα>κρινεῖ?

385 O<sup>10</sup> has .α γ]αρ φρασα. . . . . ον.[.] .ο. ωτορ[. . .]. There is room at the beginning of the verse for a word of two or three letters (e.g. ὄσα, ἴνα), but anything longer (e.g. πάρα) is unlikely. After γ]άρ roughly φρασαντα. ον or φρασαι λογ. .ον or φρασαιμι / φρασαι μι�ρον [ ] μονω τορ [ or τα[δ]. [-υ-]. Menander uses λοιπόν . . . φράσαι in *Aspis* 146f., but λοιπόν doesn't seem to fit here.

386 O<sup>10</sup> has ε]ξηλθεινεχ(κ corrected to χ, apparently not ἐξῆλθεν ἕξω as in v. 216) ηρι or ηρη (hardly ἦρη, the bowl of ρ seems to be there) [. . . . .]λλν. .[(or ]ολλ. υ/ολυ. υ: H.M. suggests Απ]ολλον, which could be an exclamation with ὀργῆς in 387). The blank space in the new papyrus after ]ηλθεν is 7-8 letters long; combined with O<sup>10</sup> this may become ε]ξηλθ' ἔνεχ' ἦρι[. ]cυν. λλν. .[, but this obviously needs improving on. The genitive governed by ἕνεκα might be found in the next verse in ὀργῆς or it may have preceded it, e.g. τίνος (or ἐμοῦ) ἐξῆλθ' ἔνεχ'.

387 O<sup>10</sup> has οργης ελ[εε]ιως Σειμιχη (or -κη) ἐξεληλυ[θ]εν. There are low dots after οργης and ελεειως, but they look like splashes; there is also an ink spot under the ο of οργης, but it is not a paragraphos. The new papyrus has a dash after οργης which might be a high stop or perhaps an apostrophe: ὀργῆς c(ε) (?), and there would be room for punctuation after ελεεινο[c]. On the uncontracted spelling ἐλεεινός, usual in the koine, instead of the Attic ἔλεινός in the papyri here and at *Dysk.* 297 and *Sam.* 371 see Gomme-Sandbach on *Dysk.* 297. On the spelling of the name Simiche see Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* p. 125 f. and G.-S. p. 132 f. and 743. It is spelt with kappa in P. Bodmer 4 in the *Dyskolos* and in a schoolboy's exercise, *CGFPR* 106. O<sup>10</sup> has only the slightest traces; the copyist of the new papyrus apparently wrote κ, but it looks more like chi than his other kappas; perhaps he was trying to imitate the form in his exemplar. Ἐλεεινός may be taken by itself as an exclamation: 'Poor me!' or 'Poor him!' (cp. Chrysis' δόκμορος, 'Unhappy me!' in *Sam.* 370 or Simiche's threefold ὦ δυστυχῆς in *Dysk.* 574, *Mis.* 177 αἶ πάλας, *Epitr.* 436 f. πάλας οὔτος) or it may belong together with ἐξελήλυθεν, with Σιμίχη in the vocative. It looks as if ἐξελήλυθεν takes up ἐξῆλθε in 386: 'someone came out . . . (It's) Simiche (who) has come out'. The person being pitied is presumably Thrasionides, either because Krateia is angry with him or because his own temper has made things worse, see 321 βλέπει δὲ πῦρ and 399 ἰταμός εἰ.

388 O<sup>10</sup> appears to have τ]ι φης πεπονθα (apparently not πεπονθε', nor πεπονθας) πα[ν]θ' φ (rather than αγαθ) υπερ ταυτης (or ταυτης H.M.) λαλ[ει]ς (]ς very uncertain). After the second θ the copyist has crossed out a and added an apostrophe. The apostrophe in the new papyrus after πεπονθ suggests πέπονθα or πέπονθε (as in *Dysk.* 298 and Ar. *Eq.* 888) [ά] or [ά]π[αν]τα, but as there is very little room for alpha before ]π[ Handley suggests that the 'apostrophe' is an abbreviation sign for εν: πέπονθ(εν) πάντα. O<sup>10</sup> apparently had πάντα (or ἄπαντα) corrected to πάνθ', the new papyrus πάντα (or ἄπαντά) θ'. This extra τε gives a split anapaest (albeit with elision) and the passage may be read without it; the copyist may have misunderstood a correction πανθ in the text before him. The verse can be articulated in various ways: τί, φῆς, πέπονθε; (Handley) . . . , or τί φῆς; πέπονθ- with or more probably without a change of speaker at πέπονθ- (there may be a dicolon after φης in the new papyrus, but there doesn't seem to be a paragraphos under the verse in O<sup>10</sup>); πάντα could be understood as 'everything conceivable' with πέπονθ- (if Krateia is the subject, this refers to her capture and loss of home and brother) or taken with λαλεῖς: 'Is everything you say about her?' (Handley) or 'in her defence'; or again, λαλεῖς could be taken on its own, preceded by 'I've suffered everything on this woman's behalf'. Ταύτης ought to be Krateia, but she cannot be on stage in this scene, so it must mean 'this woman I'm thinking about'; cp. τὸ μειράκιον τουτί in *Dysk.* 559.

389 O<sup>10</sup> may be read με[λ]ει τ (rather than ]ν ελεγ) εμοι ταυτης δι ε[μ]αυτον μοι (Coles) or μη λεγε. Both papyri seem to have τ(ε) after μέλει, not γ(ε). Μέλει—ταύτης, 'I care for her, love her': cp. *Perik.* 404 τὸ μέλημα, 'sweetheart', and Gorgias in *Dysk.* 240 f. ἀδελφῆς ἔτι μέλει ἐμῆς, *Kol.* 20 f. *Epitr.* 159 has μὴ λέγε at verse-end. Δι' ἑμαυτόν presumably goes with μέλει μοι ('and do I care for her only for my own sake? Tell me/Don't say that!') rather than with λέγε ('For my sake, don't say that!').



390 O<sup>10</sup> has ]... τατύχημα τουτ ελε[ων (perhaps with λ corrected to κ; the new papyrus has ἐκεῖ[νον] ου] ψεγω. The beginning is uncertain: Turner read ε[ ] δ' ἦν ἀτύχημα, but the letter before ἀτύχημα seems to be τ rather than ν; possibly (H.M.) ο]λογ τ or ε]μογ τ, i.e. ἐμόν τ' ἀτύχημα, 'and it's my misfortune' (like *cōn ἔργον* (*ἐστὶ*) *Dysk.* 630) or ἐμόν—τούτο, 'and this is my misfortune'(?)—Menander occasionally omits the article where one would expect it (see *Dysk.* 240, G.-S. on *Mis.* 232); τοῦμόν τ' would be too long; νῦν τατύχημα (i.e. τὸ ἀτύχημα, as in *Sam.* 351: 'Now I don't blame him—Demeas—for this misfortune') would fit the space better than the traces. The new papyrus has ν, not τ before ἀτύχημα. A. Borgogno (*SIFC* 41 (1969) 48 f.) suggested that ἀτύχημα could refer to the accidental killing of Krateia's brother by Thrasonides. I assume that he merely means that he loves her and she won't have him.

391 O<sup>10</sup> has ουκουν ενεστι τουτο ζοι . . . ωλ . . . ]ν. After ζοι (ζο uncertain) there is a short cross-bar, then possibly κωλυε[ε]ν. Before κ there is only just enough room for το (τὸ κωλύειν in apposition to the preceding τούτο?), or τί κωλύειν with a verb after τούτο[ν in 392; e.g. ὤκνεεις or ὀκνεῖς (scanned ὀκν- or ὀκν- in Sophokles, but short in Menander): 'Why did (do) you hesitate to prevent him taking her back?'; γε would be too long. οὔκουν: so this isn't in your power/Isn't this in your power?

392 O<sup>10</sup> has ταυτην απολαβειν τουτο[ . . . ]αχου. Above ταύτην the suprascript Κρ[ατε]ια[ν](?). Τοῦτο[ could be τούτο and subject of ἔχει in 393, or τούτον, the object of κωλύειν in 391, i.e. Demeas to whom Thrasonides has just referred as ἐκείνον in 390. With the order of ταύτην ἀπολαβεῖν τούτο[ν cp. *Ephtr.* 459 ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν δακτύλιόν με. At the end of the verse παντ]αχοῦ (Austin), echoing v. 315 f. 'Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ πανταχ[οῦ] γινόμενον ἴμεν (accepting a ransom is a Greek custom and we know it happens everywhere), seems more likely than πολλα]αχοῦ (Turner). Before [παντ]αχοῦ two syllables have been omitted; if the verb suggested above can be dispensed with, perhaps corroborating <οὐ γάρ>—ἔχει; 'for isn't it like that everywhere?', or a hypothetical objection, <ἀλλά> (H.M.) may be supplied, (cp. ἀλλά in 316 and 394).

393 O<sup>10</sup> has ουτως εχει προσθεν γενο[ . . . ]α . . . ]ν. Instead of εν, ου could be read; ο[ could be ε[ or η[; at the end before α a short vertical tipping forward: κ, μ(?), after it a low, then a high trace: κλα, -ματα (?). The new papyrus has τα προσεν or προσου. Handley suggests that τὰ πρόσθε γενόμεν' and πρόσθεν γενομεν- were variants. Τὰ ... could be the subject of οὕτως ἔχει, but this probably forms a sentence with πανταχοῦ in 392. Τὰ πρόσθε γενόμεν' οὐ καλὰ, 'what happened before wasn't nice', might make good sense if it could refer to the circumstances of Krateia's capture by Thrasonides; he might feel that he had no right to stop her father reclaiming her because he had wronged her. Handley suggests punctuating after τὸ ζῆν in 394 and supplying a maxim: τὰ πρόσθε γενόμεν' — — / τὸ ζῆν. I haven't found the right one yet, but *Mon.* 589 οὐ χρῆ φέρειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐν μνήμη κακά, might point in the right direction: τὰ πρόσθε γενόμεν' ἀμβλυεῖ τὸ ζῆν? ἔχει τὰ πρόσθε γενόμεν' οὐ καλὰ τὸ ζῆν? Reading προσου one might try πρὸς ε' οὐ γενή[σεται] πά[λ]ιν (H.M.), 'she won't join forces with you again'. Reading πρὸς εε, Dr Rea conjectures τὰ πρὸς εε <δ' ε>ύγενώ[ε φέρε.

394 το ζην αφησεις αλλ ερει θελ[ . . . ] . . . [ O<sup>10</sup>. After ερει, θ rather than ε (the top seems to be there); . [ could be ξ[; at the end ]λαγ[ is possible (ν[ rather than ε[), ]παν[ or ]α[π]αν[ would hardly fit. Turner took τὸ ζῆν ἀφήσεις together: 'Are you to give up living?', but Handley suggests punctuating before ἀφήσεις; 'Shall you let her go?'. This would be a more normal use of ἀφιέναι and seems to give a better sense than the thought of suicide at this point, before the question in 396, 'What's your life going to be like?'; the idea of (pretended) suicide may come in 404\* ff. Here Thrasonides asks himself, 'If I do let her go, will this make her show some feeling for me?—No. She'll just despise me': perhaps ἀλλ' ἐρεῖ 'θελξ[εῖς (H.M.), τὰ]λαν, οἴκτω τὸ μισοῦν;', 'but she'll say (cp. *Phasma*, fr. inc. sed. A 97 ἦ δ' ἐρεῖ ... , *Ephtr.* 346 ἀλλά), 'Do you think you're going to overcome my hatred with compassion, you poor creature?' (or θελξ[ω... , 'Do you think I'm going to temper my hatred with pity?'). If τὰ]λαν is right the hypothetical speaker is a woman (Krateia), see Sisti on *Mis.* 132, G.-S. on *Ephtr.* 434 and the article by Dedoussi quoted there. Handley suggests ἀλλ', ἐρεῖς, ἐλξ[εῖς ἅπαν / οἴκτω τὸ μισοῦν ὡς σεαυτόν. This is tempting, but I cannot confirm ἐρεῖς or ἅπαν.

395 οικτω το μισουν ως σεαυτον εχα[ or σεαυτον εσχα[ O<sup>10</sup>. The new papyrus appears to have had οικτ]ρω. This would need the article to make sense ('with your piteousness'). Τὸ μισοῦν is tragic in tone, cp. *Soph. Phil.* 674 f. τὸ νοσοῦν 'my sick state' and *E. Hec.* 299 τῷ θυμουμένω. At the end of the verse εσχα[λᾶς? With Handley's reconstruction of 394 f. this may be taken by itself, perhaps in a future sense as at *A. Pr.* 764, 'you'll be sorry'; otherwise one might try ὡς σεαυτόν εσχα[λᾶς, 'how sorry you feel for yourself!' For this verb with a direct object see *E. Or.* 785 θάνατον εσχάλλων πατρῶον.

396 και τις ο βιος σου που το τη[ . . ]ε[ . . ]ηρ . ια[ O<sup>10</sup>. τῆ[ε]ικ[ε]τ]ηρία[ε] (e.g. see vv. 122 and 132) doesn't fit, but τῆ[ε] ζ[ω]τῆ[ρ]η[ρ]ια[ε] seems possible. Ποῦ τὸ τῆς ζωτηρίας / ἐπίσημον; might mean 'where is the



distinction of = what credit do I get for having saved Krateia?' (cp. *Epitr.* 339 τὴν τοῦδε τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, the baby's chance of being restored to its family), or (Handley) by σωτηρία Thrasonides means his own survival (cp. *Asp.* 20 f. τρατιώτη, Συμκρίνη, σωτηρίας ἔστ' ἔργον εὐρεῖν πρόφασιν, ὀλέθρου δ' εὐπορον): 'What's so special about = what's the use of having escaped death in battle?'

397 ἐπισημον· εἰ τις . . . σεταῖ[. . .]ραῖ . . . [.]εῖ O<sup>10</sup>. After τις a round letter (ο, ε, perhaps α) followed by two high traces close together, the second a diagonal; then σ rather than γ (ὄν[ῆ]σεταῖ, ἐλε[ύ]σεταῖ? ἀν[ά]σεταῖ too long, not χρήσεταῖ); then ]ορ̄ or ]ργ; the new papyrus has ]ρ.αιε[, i.e. κ]όραῖς or δ]ργαῖς? [.]εῖ: rather too much ink for δ]εῖ, small omicron above epsilon? *Εἰ τις -εταῖ κόραῖς* or *εἴ τις ... (οὐν?) σε ταῖς κόραῖς -εἰ* (e.g. ψέγει, a reference to Demes?)?

398 πλεονεξία τουτ' ε . . . αρπασαι [.]επων O<sup>10</sup>. After τουτ', εστιν, ειπερ, ειπα; At the end [β]λεπων rather than [θ]ελων; the new papyrus has βλ[. With εἴ τις . . . , πλεονεξία τουτ' ἐστίν cp. *CGFPR* 254. 31 ἀνανδρία γὰρ τοῦτό γε and *Mon.* 488 μέγ' ἐστὶ κέρδος εἰ . . . ἐστίν may be εἴπερ; as this would not be compatible with ἴσως in 399,\* Handley suggests it might be elliptical as in *Ar. Clouds* 227 (see Dover ad loc.); εἰ . . . , εἴπερ: 'if that's what he's doing'. With ἀρπάσαι βλέπων cp. *Epitr.* 398 ἀρπάξω βλέπει and Getas' description of Thrasonides in *Mis.* 321 βλέπει δὲ πῦρ . . . . If this is a monologue it seems slightly odd that Thrasonides should say ἀρπάσαι βλέπων of himself; τουτ' εἶπας ἀρπάσαι βλέπων would certainly mean dialogue, but presumably βλέπων belongs with ἴσως ἴταμος εἰ: 'Maybe you're being impetuous, looking ready to grab her'; ἴσως may be ironical: 'so they think you're being impetuous', cp. *Epitr.* 655, *Asp.* 232 f.

399 ἴσως ἴταμος εἰ τότε λογισμῶ [ν]υ[ν] γεγον O<sup>10</sup>: λογισμῶ possible; ν]υ[ν] very faint, but the new papyrus has νυ; γεγον read by H.M. Τότε and νῦν are incompatible; Handley suggests reading τότε ('in that case') λογισμῶ συγγενοῦ and in the next verse εὐψυχος ἀπόρωσ ζῆθ' (instead of ζῆς). I would like to assume that τότε is a mistake for τῶ γε or τῶ δέ (the scribe of O<sup>10</sup> occasionally writes ο for ω: αυτοφορῶ in 218, ζοντων in 261), e.g. τῶδε λογισμῶ νῦν γενοῦ / εὐψυχος, 'take heart from the following reasoning'; but this gives a broken anapaest of a suspect kind like *Dysk.* 678 τοῦ δὲ πεπληγμένου κάτω (see G.-S. ad loc.), while τῶ {τε} λογισμῶ, 'with your powers of reasoning', is a use of λογισμός not attested in Menander. *Γενοῦ* at verse-end: *Kith.* 50, cp. *Epitr.* 498. Λογισμός and ὄργη are contrasted in *Men.* fr. 515 and Aristotle fr. 661R.; λογισμός is regarded as φάρμακον λύπης in *Men.* *Mon.* 439 and *Pap.* VI 3.

400 εὐψυχος α[π]ῶρωσ ζῆσ οδυνηρ[ω]σ ἀθθενω[σ] seems possible in O<sup>10</sup>. Cp. ὀδ]υνηρόν ἐστιν in *Sam.* 3. It is hard to decide whether this verse is a statement or a rhetorical question. Cp. 133 f. δεινὸν γὰρ βίον ζῆ καὶ ταλαίπωρόν τιν(α).

401 ον[ε]ῖδος ἡαυτη τουτο κατ[α]λε[ι]πειν [σ]ε δεῖ O<sup>10</sup> (no stop after δεῖ). The new papyrus confirms Austin's supplement. It also has καταλιπεῖν like *Perik.* 716 (see below), cp. *Dysk.* 443. In 306 O<sup>10</sup> has μῆ μ' ἐ[γκ]αταλείπησ, but in 310 ἐὰν μ' ἐγκαταλίπησ. Turner (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXXII p. 121, Add. to 2656) was inclined to defend the present subj. in 306, but other instances of this phrase with the aorist (*Epitr.* 934, and *CGFPR* 255. 4 and the letter PSI IV 361. 10 (λειπ- corrected to λιπ-) suggest that 306 is another place where λειπ- has been written for λιπ- by mistake.

402 ἀθανατον ευπαθουσ' ετιμωρησατο O<sup>10</sup>. There is a horizontal stroke or stroke + dot above the final ν of ἀθάνατον. The new papyrus has ]σαστιμ[, a mistake for -]σα ἐτιμω[-. Merkelbach (*RhM* 109 (1966) 107 f. n. 29) took ἀθάνατον and εὐπαθοῦσ(α) together, but it must be the reproach which is undying, like the suspicion Glykera describes in *Perik.* 714 ff. εἰλόμην δ' οὕτως ἐγὼ . . . ὑμῖν θ' ὑπόνοιαν καταλιπεῖν [ἀκοσμίασ]/ ἦν ἐξαλείψεται οὐκέτι, cp. χάρις ἀθάνατος in fr. 479K, Sostratos' idea in *Dysk.* 809 that generosity is a sound investment (τοῦτο γὰρ / ἀθάνατόν ἐστι) and Austin on *Mis.* 402 in *CGFPR.* Τοῦτο in 401 could refer back to ἀπόρωσ ζῆσ . . . , but the real cause of shame for Krateia would be her ungrateful behaviour rather than its result (for τοῦτο referring forward see *Georg.* fr. 1, *Epitr.* 129, *Kol.* 88 and 93).

403 τον ταγα[θ] αυτη δοντα· πως [ου]κ ε[σ]τι μοι O<sup>10</sup> (οὐκ Austin: οὐν Turner).

404\* f. . . . . κτα]γειν (cp. v. 321) or ἀνε]λεῖν (H.M.) με προσποου[μένω, 'Why can't I pretend to kill myself?' (for reflexive με v. K.G. I §454. Anm. 8), or ἀποθα]γειν / σφόδρ' ἀσθε]γειν με προσποού[μενον] × / τὸν παῖδα π[έ]μψαι τοῦτον εἰ[σ] τὴν οἰκίαν; '...send this servant into the house pretending that I am dying?'. If τοῦτον refers to Getas he may be on stage but inactive like Sosias in *Perik.* 486 ff. (see G.-S. on 485); it may, however, be e.g. a ring, δακτύλιον, which Thrasonides means to send to Krateia (like

\* Or could εἴπερ—ἴσως be concessive like οὐ γὰρ—ἴσως in *Dysk.* 75 f.? H.M. suggests εἰ γὰρ with aposiopesis after βλέπων.

the gifts he must have sent her earlier in the play, see Arrian on *Mis.* fr. 2 δῶρα τῆ μιμούσῃ πέμπει; for rings in comedy also *Mis.* 146 and *Epitr.* 387 f.), but there is hardly room for δακτύλιον at the beginning of 404\* or 405\*.

409\* τ]ύχοις ἄν εἰ[ or τῆν τ]υχούσαν εἰ[?

410\* τις πά[θ]η? Cp. *Perik.* 1003 τί γὰρ πάθῃ τις;. Or perhaps πά[θ]η[ (ν). Thrasonides may be thinking of a sword as a possible suicide weapon. Demeas has jumped to conclusions after recognizing one of Thrasonides' swords in Kleinias' house and any misunderstanding over it will have to be cleared up in Act V. Cp. ]θη in O' in *Mis.* 408 and below fr. 3. 5.

411\* ἀνοσίῳ, ἀνοσιωτ[ατ-.

412\* E.g. οἴησίν (*Mis.* 269) τινα[.

413\* κ]αὶ τρικαθλι(oc), cp. *Perik.* 340, *Epitr.* 610 (τρικάθλιος at verse-end) and Thrasonides at A 4 and at 260 which may be echoed here (see above).

414\* Possibly ἐ]μναυτόν, in which case the speaker is a man, perhaps Getas on his way to carry out Thrasonides' plan.

416\* τὸ φάρμ[ακον may be a poison for Thrasonides' suicide or a remedy like ὀργῆς φάρμακον in fr. 518 (cp. *Mon.* 476) or λύπης φάρμακον in *Mon.* pap. VI 3; cp. *Phasma* 51 f.

Fr. 3. 5 επ]άθην [? See above.

Fr. 3. 6 E.g. νο]μίζω, κο]μίζω? Cp. *Perik.* 535 οὐδένα νομίζω τῶν τοούτων ἄθλιον / ἄνθρωπον οὕτως ὡς ἐμναυτόν ζῆν ἐγώ, cp. 413.

M. MAEHLER

### 3968. NEW COMEDY: (?) MENANDER, *Thais* or *Kitharistes*

22 3B.19/G (4-5)b

7 × 14.8 cm

Third century

Ends and beginnings of comic iambic lines are given by these remains of two columns of a copy of a play written across the vertical fibres on the back of a document from which a few line-endings survive, including a total for a quantity of grain. The script is a medium-to-small mixed hand with a slight forward slope, unpretentious and workmanlike, and with no marked idiosyncrasies. The high point is probably to be seen at the end of i 22 and 23, and the dicolon for change of speaker perhaps in i 1 (and i 12?); otherwise no lectional aids survive, and the elision of ἀλλ(ὰ) is unmarked in ii 4. An upper margin of some 1.5 cm is preserved.

From its script and format, the piece is to be recognized with high probability as a member of that group of Oxyrhynchus papyri which carry copies of plays or other literary texts on the back of documentary rolls, which may be of substantial size. Examples are Menander, *Misoumenos* (XLVIII 3368), 33.1 cm, with fifty lines to the column, in a hand larger and somewhat less formal than the present specimen; and Menander, *Dis Exapaton* (prim. ed. Handley, *Menander and Plautus* [1968]), 32.5 cm, with 51 lines to the column in a script closely similar to this one; and since the *Dis Exapaton* is written on the back of a document bearing the date of 241/2 AD, a date for the present piece in the third century seems to recommend itself. See also 3967 above. Similar, but perhaps three-quarters of a century earlier, is the roll with Euripides, *Hyspipyple*, first published as VI 852, and now the subject of a detailed study and reconstruction by W. E. H. Cockle (Rome, 1987): this is 37 cm high, and the

column conveniently illustrated in Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 31, has as many as 55 lines. If these parallels are taken as a guide, we can reckon on a gap of some twenty lines between what survives of col. i and the top of col. ii.

Present for certain in the text given by col. i are a slave Sosias (vocative in 1 and 20), and a woman, who uses the exclamation *τάλαν* (7) and presumably also *ὦ θεοί* (16): she is therefore hearing a story or a plan in which she feels strong emotional involvement. It appears to include concealment (*λανθάνειν* 6 f., and possibly *ᾠσπερ τυφλῶι* 2), perhaps of a new-born infant (*τρέφειν* 10, cf. 11); parties mentioned are Phantias, probably but not certainly to be recognized in 12, and 'the mistress' (18); of the *προκόλπιον* (15), it may be recalled that that is where Syros' wife puts the baby's recognition tokens for want of a basket, when she is handed them in *Epitrepontes* (206/382).

If there is to be anything more tantalizing, it is column ii, some 20 lines on (if our parallels are valid) from the surviving part of col. i. We cannot be sure, at this interval, whether these lines are part of the same sequence of dramatic action. ii 1–8, in the absence of paragraphoi to mark a change of part, should be from the same speaker, and have an appearance of argumentation: right timing (*πρίν*, 1), antithesis (*τί . . . 3 . . . ἀλλ'* 4); statements of preference (6, *κάλλιστ*[τ-; 8 *μόνος*). There is no way to tell if there was a paragraphos under 8 or 9; from 10 to 19 there was not; so that at 8 or 9 a new speech could begin, though we do not know that it did. In 1–8, namely at 5, we have the proper name Thais; in 10 we have fish, and in 12 incense.

Menander's *Kitharistes* comes into question because of the relatively rare name Phantias. Phantias appears in the set of quotations from which editors have made up the fragment that is fr. 1 in Koerte and Sandbach (its text is supplemented by PTurner 5, published in 1981). The name in that fragment has recruited into the play what is accepted as its main block of text, the papyrus piece PBerol 9767, with its 'Phantias the kitharistes' in 96–99. To the quotations cited from the play by its title, as represented in Kock and Koerte, Sandbach (*OCT*, p. 164) adds three more which, like his fr. 1, have Phantias addressed by name: they are two single-line gnomai from PVindob 19999A;<sup>1</sup> and a pair of gnomi lines quoted by Strabo which had appeared among the unassigned fragments as 613K/797 Koe; in the quotation which appears as 726K/544 Koe, the same vocative has been introduced by a conjecture which Sandbach rejects. One can have one's suspicions (among them that the name Phantias may have propagated itself in the gnomological tradition from the particularly well-known 'fr. 1'); but there is no specific reason why all this material should not represent a single play. Some possible links of motif between these remains and the present fragment can be imagined, but no verification of the identity they suggest has so far been forthcoming. There is also an obvious and valid challenge, in that the name Thais (ii 5)

<sup>1</sup> Jaekel, *monost.* IV, with revised text in *Eos* 73 (1985) 247–51 (FHS).

could be put forward to claim the piece for Menander's play of that title, no copy of which (perhaps surprisingly) has yet been identified among the numerous papyrus fragments of New Comedy; though a label from one which escaped us is published as PTurner 6 by C. H. Roberts.

	Col. i	Col. ii	Col. i	Col. ii
	]ε.ρωσια	πριν[	]ει, Ϟωσία,	πριν [
	]σπερτυφλω	.λευ.[	ᾠ]σπερ τυφλᾶ	ἔλευ.[
	]ντω[.]τιγαρ	τιπρο[	-]ντω[.] τί γάρ	τί προ[
	]...θενι	αλλετε[		ἀλλ' ετε[
5	]εῖθαδε	καιθαις[	] ἐνθάδε	καὶ Θαίτ [
	]λανθανειν	καλλις[	] λανθάνειν	κάλλις[τ-
	]νεινταλαν	τουτ.[	λανθά]νειν, τάλαν,	τουτ.[
	]δυςτυχη	.ονος[	] δυςτυχῆ	μόνος [
	]εθου	.]σπαιδ[		το]ὺς παιῖδ[α
10	]τηςτρεφειν	.χ.υσαπ[	]της τρέφειν	ἰχθῦς ἀπ[
	]ρεφεις	αυτουςπε.[	τ]ρέφεις	αὐτοὺς πε.[
	]φ.νιας	.ιβανωτ[	] Φανίας	λιβανωτ[ό-
	]λο.λαβειν	απ[.]υπο[	]λο. λαβεῖν	ἄπ[α]ν ὑπο[
	]..λεγων	ε..[.]ο.[	]ν λέγων	
15	]κορλπιον	ηγ.[	προ]κόλπιον	
	]ωθ[.]οι	τηρ[	] ᾠ θ[ε]οί,	
	]κηκοα	ε.θη.[	ἀ]κήκοα	ἔλθη κ[
	]κτημενης	παρα.[	κε]κτημένης	
	]..	παρι.[		
20	]ρωσια	. [	] Ϟωσία	
	]πανυ[		] πάνυ	
	]..[α·			
	]..α·			
	]νθανε[			
25	]αβεν[		ἔλ]αβεν [	
	]..εσ.ν[			
	]..[			
	]ι.ν[			
	]λα[			
30	]..[			



## Col. i

1 Either ]ει or ]ε: 2 Probably ε not ο, which is generally smaller and rounder: see on ii. 10  
 3 πρ]ῶτον has been considered, but the first looks too square for part of ω and the third too wide for ο  
 4 'Before θενι, high ink consistent with ρ not υ' EGT: i.e. not ἐν]τερυθενί, on that and other grounds. Traces  
 of the first suit top of π, as in ii. 1; the second is like upper part of a down-sloping oblique: therefore possibly  
 Παρθενί, voc. of the rare name Παρθενίς, as at M. *Dysk.* 432 9 μ]έσου EGT 12 φ is given by  
 top and foot of a long vertical; next, ink on twisted fibres, some of which may be from flat bow of φ as in  
 10 and 11; the sequence ]φανία (EGT) looks likelier than ]φ. . :αε[] (whcncc perhaps ε]φην. ( ) ἀε[ι])  
 proposed as an alternative by HM); if so, the name Phantias is much likelier than στε]φανία 13 Either  
 ι or υ before λ 14 ], ., two vertical traces which may well be parts of υ 16 Abrasion, and  
 perhaps a narrow blank space before ωθεοι: possibly change of speaker was indicated 19 Perhaps ]α·  
 21 First is more like part of π than of τ; otherwise τὰ νῦ[ν could be thought of 26 ], ., downward-  
 sloping stroke, as from δ or λ: e.g. ἦ]δεσαν, ἀπῶ]λεσαν 27 Perhaps ]κα[

## Col. ii

2 ], only a speck of ink: there is nothing to 'choose between ξλευθ[ερ- and ξλεύς[ομαι, etc.  
 3 Possibly πρω[ 7 Curve suits ο[ rather than ω[ 10 First, a vertical; third, upper left quadrant  
 of a round letter, which looks too large for ο, it being markedly small in this hand wherever certain: therefore  
 probably ἰχθῦς, less probably ἡχοῦσα vel sim. 13 ], ., dot of high ink only 15 Possibly ηπ[  
 17 ἔλθη suits the space, but the second letter is unverifiable

## Col. i

2 Probably not ] ὅπερ τυφλῶ | δῆλον or the like, for palaeographical reasons, but note καὶ τυφλῶ δῆλον  
 as a proverbial expression quoted from Menander's *Deisidaimon* (98a Koe) and *Rhazizomene* (367 Koe) in a  
 scholion on Plato, *Soph.* 241d, who is commenting on πῶς γὰρ οὐ φαίνεται καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο τυφλῶ;  
 λανθάνειν in 6 (and 7?; and 24??) may be more to the point.

4 If Παρθενί is acceptable, it must be the name of Sosias' female partner in the conversation (7 and  
 16). She is someone called on to play the tune of Pan at M. *Dysk.* 432 f. (whether a member of the household  
 or someone hired); in Lucian, *Dial. Mer.* 15, possibly recalling her from there, she is a professional party  
 entertainer, whose pipes have been broken in a squabble. If we think of a domestic slave, either she or  
 Sosias may refer to 'the mistress' in 18; if of a music-girl, the milieu indicated by the name Thais in ii 5  
 becomes relevant.

6 f. For the verbal echo here assumed, see Ar. *Ekk.* 88 ff.: (A.) . . . ἴνα | πληρουμένης ξαίνομι τῆς  
 ἐκκλησίας. | (B.) πληρουμένης τάλαινα; τάλαν shows that a woman is speaker (for some references, see on M.  
*Dysk.* 437 ff.); its tone ranges from pity through reproach to alarm and (as with τάλαινα in *Ekk.* above)  
 scornful disapproval.

10 f. The verb could of course be στρέφειν.

12 For the name Phantias, see the palaeographical commentary and the introduction.

15 For προκόλπιον, a fold in the dress which could function like a pocket, see M. *Epitr.* 206 (recognition  
 tokens placed there) and Sandbach's note (his line 382); it is part of a figure of speech in *Heniochos* 177  
 Koe: 'No god puts money in your pocket'.

16 ὦ θεοί is characteristic of women in extant Menander, being an expression favoured by Habrotonon  
 in *Epitr.* (308/484 et al.: see Sandbach ad loc.) and used by Glykera in the recognition scene of *Perik.*  
 (377/807), where it looks back to tragedy, in which it is common to men and women; it is not certain who  
 speaks at *Perik.* 397/827, but that the expression would suit a Parthenis here is clear.

18 κεκτημένη (without article) is a slave's normal expression for 'the mistress' in Comedy, as at M.  
*Perik.* 72/192.

## Col. ii

4 Annoyingly ambiguous: ἔτε[κ-, ἔτε[ρ-.

5 Thais, the name-character of a play, evidently became a legend; that lives on, and is perpetuated  
 by Roman writers, as can be seen from the references accompanying the book-fragments in Koerte-  
 Thierfelder: if this is a piece of that play, it is the first accession of a fragment from papyrus.



6 It may be worth recalling that *κάλλιςτα* in dialogue can be a formula of refusal: LSJ s.v. *καλός* C. II. 6.

12 *ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβές | καὶ τὸ πόπανον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ | ἅπαν ἐπιτιθέν*, says Knemon in his tirade against elaborate sacrifices and feasts in *Dyskolos* (449 ff.); one wonders if the fish of 10 were represented as an extravagance. The form in *-ύς* is nom. or acc. in Menander's Attic: Sandbach on *Sam.* 98.

E. W. HANDLEY

### 3969. NEW COMEDY: ?MENANDER

43 5B.68/C(1-4)a

8.0 × 10.5 cm

First/second century

A group of fragments in a medium formal round hand of the first or early second century AD combine to give portions from the latter part of twelve comic iambic trimeters. The back is blank. In scale and style, this roll recalls that of **1238 + 3217**, Menander, *Sikyonios* (-οῖ), dated to the late first century by Grenfell and Hunt; but the writing here is more rounded and fluent, notably with its *μ* in three curving strokes and its cursive tendency (admittedly restrained) to allow letters to link, as *μ* in 8 and *κα* in 10. Part-division is indicated by the dicolon (4, 9), with a small space after it, written together with the text and not added; no other lectional signs are to be seen. A lower margin of about 2.8 cm survives.

A character called Smikrines is involved in a dialogue of some emotional intensity, to judge by the way in which the gods are invoked (7, 10), and by the repetitions (3-4, 9?, and the name in 8 and 11). Smikrines, it seems, is confronted with a plea which he will not entertain, namely, that something should be given, or given away (to his daughter?). He will apparently not even stay to listen (9), and his interlocutor accordingly bids him goodbye (11). That a Smikrines should be angry, impatient, perhaps even sarcastic (6), is not surprising; whether his partner's feelings are real or affected, is something to be left open.

No coincidence with a known text has yet been observed. Smikrines is in fact a character in *Aspis*, as well as in *Epitrepontes*; Euclio is thought to have had that name in the original of Plautus, *Aulularia*;<sup>1</sup> there is another still whose presence depends on a disputed supplement in *Sikyonios* (156, where see Sandbach's note). The threads of motif which connect, or might connect, the fragment with one or another of these plays are too slender for the issues they raise to be argued out here; and the explanation of them may well be that the present fragment is from yet another play by Menander or a kindred writer which used the name Smikrines to label an old man with certain well-marked anti-social obsessions. For what it is worth, Alciphron did so (3. 7), without apparently having any particular play or dramatic situation in mind.

<sup>1</sup> 301 f. with Choricus of Gaza 32. 73, conveniently quoted by Koerte-Thierfelder, *Menander*, vol. 2, p. 51.

## Fr. 1

	]. [	
	]. ες[ . . ]ονδ[	
	]ροση[ ]ηδιδ[	]ρος ἢ μὴ δίδ[ου
	]μν[ . ]ν: μῆδιδου	]μν[ . ]ν. ( ) μὴ δίδου
5	]. ηιθυγατριμῆδ[	5
	]. . διδάσκεισδ[ . . ]	]. διδάσκεισ δ[ . . ]
	]ματουδωδε . [	] μὰ τοὺς δώδεκ[α θεοὺς
	]λλασμικριν[	ἀ]λλά, Ἐμικρίν[η,
	]με . εις: εγωμεν[	] μενεις; ( ) ἐγὼ μὲν[ω;
10	]. . . . [ ]πολλονκαιθεο[	10
	]ερρωσοτ[ ] . ινυςμικριν[	Ἄ]πολλον και θεο[ί
	]εντομ[ ] . ενοχλειναλλ[	υ-υ- ] ἔρρωσο τῶνν, Ἐμικρίν[η.
		υ-υ ] εν τὸ μὴ ἵνοχλεῖν, ἀλλ[ -υ-

1 Foot of a vertical      2 ], horizontal on the line      3 A trace of ink seems to be shared between fragments at the join; it could be the last stroke of  $\mu$ , in which case nothing is lost. But Dr W. E. H. Cockle is very doubtful about the join      4 Extreme left tip of  $\delta$  seems to show on the main fragment; but see above      5  $\zeta\eta$ ,  $\tau\eta$  and  $\tau\eta$  are all possible readings      With resolutions in the first half, the line could end  $\mu\eta\delta[-\cup-]$ ; if  $\mu\eta\delta[\cup-]$ , the metre would demand  $\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}$ , and indicate a high style as in tragedy: see *Dyskolos of Menander* on 414, where  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\ \varsigma\epsilon$ ,  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omicron\nu$  is quoted from *Misoumenos* (214) 6 ]. . could well be the remains of  $\nu$ ; . [ , part of a down sloping stroke, would suit (e.g.)  $\delta[\eta]\lambda[\alpha\delta\acute{\eta}]$ ,  $\Delta[\eta]\mu[\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  9  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  or  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$  W. E. H. Cockle; not ] $\mu\epsilon\pi$       11-12 Probably nothing lost at the join. In 12, the traces do not allow a secure choice between  $\tau\omicron\mu\eta\epsilon\nu\omicron\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  and  $\tau\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ , but favour the former; either would scan, given a suitable beginning

3 Metre requires  $\cup\cup$   $\overline{\cup\cup}$   $\overline{\cup\cup}$ , as  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , etc.

4 If  $\mu\eta\ \delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$  is repetition by the speaker of 3, 4 may contain an uncomprehending remark by his partner in the dialogue, e.g.  $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \delta\acute{\eta}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \varsigma\epsilon]$  $\mu\nu$ [ $\acute{\omicron}$ ] $\nu$ ; But an imperative may be echoed directly by one speaker from another (*Dysk.* 503n), and  $\mu\nu[\acute{\alpha}]\nu$  and other words are alternatives to  $\varsigma\epsilon]$  $\mu\nu$ [ $\acute{\omicron}$ ] $\nu$ .

6  $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  might represent resentment at the interference: e.g.  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\kappa\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\acute{\omega}]\nu\ \delta\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ...

7 The oath by the Twelve Gods is in its expected (though not invariable) place in the second part of the line: Austin on *Samia* 306. It might indicate rising anger.

9  $\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  (or a compound) could represent either present or future (cf. *Dysk.* 782); the echo of it here assumed will be deliberative subjunctive (KG i. 222); but  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  [ $\omicron\upsilon$ ] is an easy alternative.

10-11 Continuation from 9 may come with a further indignant question or a phrase appended to the one there; the invocation to Apollo and the Gods could lead to a genitive like  $\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \mu\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ , as it does in Com. Adesp. 244. 355 Austin (to be found in Sandbach, OCT Menander, p. 338).

12 A wish not to be troubled is a hallmark of a certain type of wrapped-up old man: for the expression and its scansion by prodelision, see *Dysk.* 750. ?  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ...

Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4
]ηι.[	]..[	]χαίρε[
]ακ[	]θω[	]ου[
]υζζ[	]υ[	]..[

There are 10 more scraps or particles of papyrus, some with ink, of which nothing useful can be made out.

Fr. 3, ]. . [, vertical and curve, perhaps π; down-sloping stroke, as from λ, joins θω[: ? ε]λθώ[υ.

E. W. HANDLEY

### 3970. NEW COMEDY

14 1B.207/G(b)

5.5 × 16 cm

Third century

There survive in this fragment the middles of 23 lines which are recognizable metrically as iambic trimeters by the incidence of word-end. While no restoration that occurs to me can be regarded of itself as inevitable, the beginnings of lines 13, 16 and 18, if considered together, would suggest that some 7–8 letters is the usual amount lost. The back is blank; not enough survives below line 23 to show whether or not it was the last of the column.

The copyist writes a sloping and somewhat spreading mixed hand, with narrow ε θ ο c (θ and ο are sometimes very small) and wide α δ λ; η μ ν π ω all tend to breadth; horizontals, as of τ ε, are sometimes prolonged; the spacing between letters is variable, and on occasion generous. The only clear punctuation that survives is by single high point, written *currente calamo*. There is *scriptio plena* in 9 (πoτe before punctuation, single or perhaps double point, with a vowel next), and possibly in 10 before correction; elision is unmarked in 12, marked by diastole in 13 (if not also in 10 as corrected), by aspiration and diastole in 7. Parallels such as XXII **2341**, proceedings before the Prefect, AD 202; II **223**, *Iliad* v, on the other side of a petition dated AD 186; and PFlor. 259, a letter in the Heroninos archive dated circa AD 260, would suggest a date in the third century and preferably in the earlier part of it: these three are in Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, nos 19(c), 21(a) and 22(d) respectively.

By their content, the lines seem to depict two contrasting moods. Nothing before 10 is informative in this regard; but 10–16 looks like the end of a conversation conducted by someone who either has or assumes an air of benevolent superiority to the other person involved: 11 ‘Add more’; 12 ‘But you made a mistake’; 13 ‘But go along inside’; 15 f. ‘From here on ... let it be agreed. Goodbye my dear H[ ]’. From 17 f., the tone is of anger and disillusionment: ‘That’s just what I told you’.... ‘I’m a complete laughing stock’; and it may then be that there follows a narrative of a conversation between the speaker and one Mikion (19 ff.).

Of the various assumptions which the best-preserved words leave open, perhaps the simplest is that the speaker of the first group of lines (who can be called A) despatches 'dear H[ ]' into a house on stage and goes off by one of the wing-entrances. Enter at 17, B, referring after his opening outburst to Mikion, who may or may not be the same as A. The roles of the mild old man and the stern old man who appear in contrast in a number of comedies who seem to fit A and B quite well; and if nothing else brought the *Adelphoe* of Terence to mind as a leading example, the appearance of the name Mikion, that of the mild old man in Terence, would do so at once.

Unfortunately (for one would like more Greek, however scrappy, to set beside a version by a Latin comic poet) there has not yet appeared any link with *Adelphoe* or any other comic text which is precise enough to identify the piece; and neither the name Mikion nor the evanescent 'dear H[ ]' (who could in theory be Terence's Hegio) appear to be able to bring us any nearer.

	. . . . .	
	] . . [ ] . [	
	] [ ] [	
	] [ ] [	
	] . [ ] . α . τ [	
5	] [ ] λ ο δ υ ς [	
	] . . [ . . ] η ν ε μ η [	τ] ἦν ἐμῆ[ν
	] ν ε ι δ [ . . ] π ο θ ' . [	
	] τ ο ν τ [ . . ] τ ρ ο π ο υ μ [	] τ ο ν τ [ ὄν ] τ ρ ὀ π ο ν μ [
	] . η δ ε [ . . . ] ν π ο τ ε ' . [	] . η δ ε [ . . . ] ν π ο τ ' . ο [
10	] . ' [ α ] ἀ ν θ ρ ω π ο ς . ἀ ν [	] λ ' ἀ ν θ ρ ω π ο ς . ἀ ν [
	] . π ρ ο σ θ ε ς . ἕ τ ε ρ ο ν ο . [	τ] ἰ π ρ ὄ σ θ ε ς . ἕ τ ε ρ ο ν ο . [
	] . ἀ λ λ η μ α ρ τ ε ς . α ἰ σ θ [	] . ἀ λ λ ' ἡ μ α ρ τ ε ς . α ἰ σ θ [
	] . γ ' ε ἰ ω . κ α ι τ ι τ α [	ἀ λ λ ἄ π ᾶ ] β α γ ' ε ἴ ω . κ α ι τ ῖ τ α [ ⊃ - ∪ -
	] κ α ι θ α υ μ α ς τ ' ἀ γ ω [	] κ α ι θ α υ μ ᾶ ς τ ' ἀ γ ω [
15	] δ η . τ ο λ ο ι π ο ν [ ] ἀ ν δ [	] δ η . τ ὸ λ ο ι π ὸ ν , ἄ ν δ [
	] ο χ θ ω . χ α ι ρ ε φ ἰ λ τ α [ ] . [	ο ὔ τ ω δ ε δ ] ὄ χ θ ω . χ α ἰ ρ ε , φ ἰ λ τ α θ [ ' - ∪ -
	] . ο ν [ . ] ἔ τ ο υ τ ε γ ω λ . [	] ε , τ ο ὔ τ ' ἐ γ ὼ ' λ ε [ γ ο ν .
	] . ε λ α ς τ ο ς γ ε [ ] γ ο ν α . [	⊃ κ α τ α ] γ ἔ λ α ς τ ο ς γ ἔ γ ο ν α . [
	] . α . τ ο ν μ ι κ ῖ ω ν α [	] . α . τ ὸ ν Μ ι κ ῖ ω ν α [



20 ] . . [ . . ] ι φ η μ ι σ υ τ [ ] ι φ η μ ι σ υ τ [ υ  
 ] τ ι ν ο σ ε ι τ . [ ]  
 ] ι ν α λ λ α . [ ]  
 ] μ ε ν ο υ . [ ]  
 ] . . . [ ]  
 . . . . .

1-5 Horizontal fibres partly stripped      1 Traces of ink, apparently all from one line, the last high horizontal  
 4 Down-sloping stroke meets α, as (e.g.) π[ο[λ]λά; τ[ is a sloping upright at appropriate distance from the stop, fibres stripped above; otherwise, with generous spacing, γ[, λ[, π[ 6 ] . . [, second, a slightly curved upright, as of τ or first of λ      7 After θ, with long cross-stroke, high ink may be diastole or trace of an added letter; then a curve, perhaps ω[ 8 τ[ . . ] τ suggested respectively by left and right ends of horizontal      9 ] . . , upright, perhaps ν; ] . . , part of small round, ρ or α; before it, speck of ink on line may indicate double point, not single as printed      10 ] . . , sloping upright; the high loop taken as diastole (cf. 13) could perhaps be combined with it to give ρ or β, but λ is indicated by a stroke which seems to join the cancelled α; end, possibly γα[ 11 ε[ possible from trace of ink very close to π; at end, high and low traces suggest χ, perhaps ξ or ζ      13 ] . . , dots of high ink; for αγ', ετ' can be thought of, as in *επερον*, 11      14 ] κ is given by traces of upper and lower arms; over θ, interlinear ink (offset?); of ω only left half, but too big for ο and too curved for απ[ to be likely      15 [ ] . . , probably nothing lost, unless perhaps a high point      16 . . , upper part of curve, as θ or ε; spacing favours φιλταθ[ against φιλτα[τ]ε      17 ] . . , horizontal; . . , speck of ink as from foot of an upright      18 ] . . , tip of horizontal; [ ] γ, probably with nothing lost, EGT; γετ- could be read, hardly γε[ι]τ-; at end, tip of horizontal rather than high point      19 ] . . , trace of ink from upright or shallow right curve; the high point is uncertain; the κ in *μικριωνα* may have been corrected      21 ] τ broken at left; at end, possibly ειτρ[ 23 ] . . , τ[ or high point

6 τ]ην ἐμῆ[ν naturally suggests 'daughter'; but δίδ[ωμ[ι (i.e. part of a betrothal formula) cannot be verified.

7 Ambiguous: e.g. εἰδ[όν] ποθ'; εἰδ[έε] ποθ'; εἰ, δ[έε] ποθ'; does not in any case seem to match 9.

9 f. The core of the sentence was perhaps ο[ὐ—ἀ]λλ' ἄνθρωπος, with an expression of proverbial type. The familiar form represented by κάμινος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, *piper non homo* (Krobylos 8K.-A., Petr. 44. 6) seems to have a positive counterpart in *homines sumus, non dei* (Petronius 75. 1): i.e. 'to err is human', ἄνθρωπος ὡν ἡμαρτον (Menander, *Phanion* 432 Kō), ἄνθρωπος εἰμ', ἡμαρτον (Herodas 5. 27), where see Headlam's note. Liability to error is not the only human characteristic that New Comedy asserts; but ἀλλ' ἡμαρτες in 12 does something to suggest that it may be in question here, and that a word for 'god' is lost in the gap.

12 αἰσθάνει γε; νῆ is available as a possible restoration: M. *Epitr.* 762 (1120 Sandbach, q.v. ad loc.).

13 πάραγε can be said to someone whom the speaker is going to accompany (M. *Perik.* 275/525, with whatever part-division); but it is also used when there is apparently no such intention, as at *Epitr.* 229/405: 'Go along in'. The latter must be the case here, if 15 f. is rightly interpreted as leave-taking.

13 f. Were the 'wonderful things' something to be narrated inside?

15 f. ἄν δ[, taken with what follows, suggests a restoration on the lines of 'if you are satisfied let it be settled like this': e.g. ἄν δ[οκῆ καὶ σοὶ τάδε | οὕτω δεδ]όχθω. After such a sentiment, χαίρε seems natural as an expression of leave-taking. If it were a greeting to a speaker newly arrived, the transition would be very abrupt, unless it was prepared for in some way not now to be seen. In answer to that, A. H. Griffiths takes 13 καὶ τί... 16 οὕτω δεδόχθω as soliloquy, after the other character has left; for χαίρε in affectionate greeting, see Sandbach on *Samia* 657; in affectionate farewell, ἀλλ' ὦ φίλ' Ἐρμῆ χαίρε πολλά Ar. *Peace* 718.

The missing name could have the shape of *Ἠγέμων* (see Sandbach on M. *Sik.* 9, where its appearance is none the less doubtful); or of *Ἰλαρίων* (*Perik.* 194/384?); among other names that qualify would be the Greek form of Hegio, known so far from Plautus, *Captivi* and Terence, *Adelphoe* (and as one of the advocati in T. *Phormio*).



17 τοῦτ' ἐγὼ λέγον (not unlike 'What did I tell you?') suits the mood of someone angry and disillusioned enough to continue with καταγέλαστος γέγονα. Compare τοῦτ' ἐγὼ | προσέμενον, *M. Epitr.* 5 f./131 f.; οὐκ ἐγὼ λέγον; *Dysk.* 172 and 511, *Mis.* 217; τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' οὐγὼ λέγον, *Ar. Ach.* 41, *Lys.* 240 (and cf. *Peace* 64). In the six examples just mentioned, ἐγὼ (or οὐγὼ) λέγον forms the last metron of an iambic trimeter. That could only be so here if the line had lost five elements from its beginning, rather than two or three, like its immediate neighbours. If the restoration is sound (and it is an objection, given this scribe's practice, that there is no punctuation before τοῦτ') the beginning may rather have been of the shape of παρήγα]γόν [μ]ε, 'they deceived me', with πάλιν at the end to lead on to νῦν κατα]γέλαστος γέγονα. The speaker has perhaps been sent on a wild-goose chase, like Demea in Terence, *Adelphoe*, among others; if so, his mood on return makes a specially sharp comic contrast with the euphoria of the previous lines: 703; cf. 505 ff.

19 Μικίων is a well-attested Attic name, with some 19 examples in the *Prosopographia Attica* ranging from the sixth century to Menander's time; it is the name of a fishmonger in Alexis, *Epikleros* 78K.-A.; of the bachelor uncle in Terence, *Adelphoe*.

The name of the same character in Terence's Menandrian original is open to dispute. If Menander, *Adel. II* 8 Kō is a single fragment, as presented by Stobaeus, it should prove by equation with Terence, *Ad.* 605 ff. that Menander's name for this character was Lamprias. Critics since Cobet have however continued to urge that the second pair of lines, in which Lamprias is named, are discordant with the first two: so, after a careful discussion, O. Rieth, *Die Kunst Menanders in den Adelphen des Terenz* (1964) 87 ff., and R. H. Martin, *ed. Adel.* (1976) ad loc. This may be over-refined: the apparent inconsistency between the second sententia and the first will surely have been less sharp in context than it seems to be when the lines are isolated. Gaiser, *ap. Rieth* 89 n. 133, aptly quotes a parallel speech from *Dysk.* (295 ff.); and compare *Kitharistes*, fr. 1 = PTurner 5, with discussion there.

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### 3971. NEW COMEDY

8 1B.199/G(1-2)(b)

2.7 × 7.3 cm

Late second/third century

A 'wait and see' fragment: some words from the middle of eleven comic verses survive on this scrap of a roll, written in a small, sloping mixed hand comparable with the Dioscorides, *De materia medica* of PMichigan 3, and (on a larger scale) the Homer of II 223, respectively Roberts, *GLH* 15c and 21a; probably therefore to be assigned to the late second or early third century. α, δ and λ are sharply triangular, α with a pronounced point sloping down at the left; ε and ς are small, θ narrow and ο tiny; descenders, represented by ρ and υ, are long and with a marked backward curve. In 4, a part-division is marked by a dicolon, written with spacing as part of the copy; elsewhere punctuation has been added afterwards in the form of a high dot or short oblique (2, 3, 11); in 10 a dot is placed low between υ and π; there is a rough breathing to indicate ξν in 5. An upper margin of 1.5 cm survives; the back is blank.

With so little left, almost nothing can be said about the content that could not be contradicted. It is not even certain whether the lines begin on the first metron of an iambic trimeter, with the loss of one or two syllables, as would be the case if εὐδό]κιμος or something like it began 7, with a spacious monosyllable (or υυ) beginning 8; or whether there are several syllables lost at the beginning, so that 3 ἐρρ[ωμένως or 8 καὶ μόλις π[οτέ could be taken as typical line-endings and not as middles.

That said, there are some slight indications that the piece is from a narrative speech, with an emotional interjection in line 4 from the person hearing it. The speaker highlights his own part (3 ἐγὼ δέ); he possibly mentions associates, if ]μεν in 2 and ημ[ in 7 represent first person plurals; there is a stage of difficulty (8); a point at which a third person sees something (9); and, for good dramatic value, the possibility of night and tears in 11. The female slave-name Doris is probably to be recognized in 4.

	]υκινευπω[	(?)	γέν]υκιν, εὐπῶ[γων
	]μεν·αλλαν[		]μεν· ἀλλὰ ν[
	]ων·εγωδερ.[	(?)	]ων· ἐγὼ δ' ἐρρ[ωμένωσ
	]ωρις: ωταλ[	(?)	Δ]ωρίς. ( ) ᾧ ταλ[
5	]έναπολελ[	5	] ἐν ἀπολελ[
	]·αγαθον.[		]· ἀγαθὸν .[
	]·ιμοσημ[	(?)	προσδό]κιμος ἡμ[ῖν
	]καιμολις.[		] καὶ μόλις π[οτέ
	]·ζοραιτην[		]·ζ ὀρᾶι τήν [
10	]μενον·π[	10	]μενον, π[
	]κτα··ακ.[	(?)	νύ]κτα· δακρ[υ-

2 ]μ is given by a trace of a rising stroke joining the vertical end, tip of a long descender 6 ], a vertical; ·[, dot of ink on the line 7 ], two diverging strokes, arms of κ rather than parts of ε, then ιμ rather than ω: i.e. not ἐκ]εῖνος, as a glance might suggest, but rather δό]κιμος or a compound 8 ], a vertical, as for π[οτέ 9 ], a particle of high ink, υ? η? ι? 11 δακ- rather than λακ-, to judge from the way the two parts of sloping strokes join and from a trace of a horizontal intersecting α; high trace after κ suits ρ

1 Simple alternatives are a verb ending in -ουκιν, and εῖδ uncompounded followed by a word in πω-. εὐπῶγων is the only acceptable compound in εὐπω-; and jaws or cheeks and beard are recurrent features in descriptions of people. They appear in collocation in Pollux' list of comic masks: 4. 143, the First Pappos (No. 1) is, *inter alia*, εὐγένειος, ἰσχνος τὰς παρειάς (see also 133 on the mask of the Shorn Old Man in Tragedy); εὐπῶγων is used in the comic list of the Longbeard Wavy-haired Old Man (No. 4) and the Hermonian (No. 5); while in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* the word describes one of the characteristics of the θυμώδης (808a 23). A *locus classicus* for such descriptions in Comedy is *P. Rud.* 313-20; if someone is being described here it will presumably be the person mentioned in 9. Note also *T. Hec.* 440 f. ...*cadaverosa facie*.

2 δ' ἐρρ[ or δὲ ῥρ[ cannot be ruled out; both offer alternatives to words in ἐρρ-.

4 The slave-girl Doris has a considerable part in Menander's *Perikeiromene*; the name is also that of a character in *Encheiridion* (PSI 99 = Austin *CGFP* 129) and possibly in *Kolax* (19; *CGFP* 164, 18); it appears as well in the unassigned fragments given by PHamb 120 (inc. 951 Kō; *CGFP* 161)<sup>1</sup> and in 2658 (*CGFP* 245)—in the latter two or three times within 23 lines; to these can be added Diphilus, *Mnemonion* 56K.-A.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *Kekryphalos*, but fr. 243 Kō looks to me like a different use of the proverbial concept we find in fr. 951. 12, and not like a quotation or allusion.

ὦ τάλ[αν or ὦ τάλ[αν] ἐγὼ would be feminine interjections (for some references see on *Dysk.* 437 ff.); ὦ τάλ[αc ἐγὼ from a male speaker would indicate very strong emotion (compare Knemon at *Dysk.* 596–7); ὦ τάλ[άντατε is also to be considered.

5 ἀπολελ- offers a choice of perfect forms from ἀπολαγχάνω and ἀπολέγω as well as ἀπολείπω and other less likely words.

7 For προσδό[κιμος (one of several possibilities), note *expectatus* with a dative in Roman comedy, as at Plautus, *Amph.* 658–9, *Most.* 441.

8 καὶ μόλιc ποτέ at line-end, *Dysk.* 684; cf. *Sam.* 493 for the collocation.

9 ὄρᾱι looks like narrative present: ? ε]ίc-.

11 Perhaps one should recall the tears of Polcmon in *Perikeiromene* (52–5/172–5), or even of his fellow soldier Stratophanes in *Sikyonios* (see Sandbach on 219).

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### 3972. COMEDY

5 1B.57/F(4)

7.5 × 10.5 cm

Mid-/late second century

The beginnings of fourteen comic iambic lines, recognizable by their metre and vocabulary, are given by this foot of a column from what was once a handsome roll. The back is blank; the written surface is partly abraded and in poor condition; there is a sheet join close to where the fragment is broken at its right-hand edge. The script is a formal round hand of medium size of the type sometimes known as ‘Roman uncial’.<sup>1</sup> Lectional signs (accents, breathings, diastole [8] and high point) are added with a finer pen; there is a correction or a speaker’s name above the line in 5; another, in cursive, is at the beginning of 10, and there are traces of yet another before 8. About 2.5 cm of blank lower margin survives.

Specimens of the calligraphic style represented by this fragment are discussed by G. Cavallo, *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa*, ser. ii, 36 (1967) 209–20. Prominent among them is the Hawara Homer (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gr. Class. a. 1 (P); Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, no. 13), with which may be cited the very similar copy of Homer represented by 20 (Roberts, *GLH* no. 12b). By comparison with these, we have a slightly more compact hand, with more contrast between thick strokes and thin, and with serifs which (though still neat) are more prominent. These differences of emphasis are well illustrated by a hand of very large size in the copy of Hesiod, *Works and Days*, represented in 3229, which is to my eye like enough to suggest that it could be another and more ambitious piece of calligraphy by the same person. If the two copies of Homer, and with them the *floruit* of this variety of formal round hand, are put in the early to middle part of the second century, the development represented by the present fragment and its kin can be thought of as parallel or not much later: ‘probably to be assigned to the middle or later second century’, remarked M. L. West in publishing 3229. It is a pity (not least in regard to the dating) that there is so little of the cursive,

<sup>1</sup> I use this term, as will be plain, without wishing to express an opinion here on its aptness; ‘Homeric majuscule’ has been suggested as an alternative by W. H. Willis; see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, as quoted below, with addenda.



and that ξ, φ and ψ are lacking. Of individual letters, alpha is particularly noteworthy. The third or cross stroke, which is often a relatively weak one in this style, is here vestigial almost to vanishing point: clearest in τετα- 12, practically absorbed by the thickening curve of the right half of the letter in βαδιζ', 8; and of course very easily abraded. Beta has a narrow, shallowly-curved upper loop and a more generously rounded lower one (8; damaged in 7); kappa appears with a thin upper arm with conspicuous serif, meeting the upright at its middle; mu is wide and strongly curved; upsilon has its first stroke cranking to form a short stem, but tending towards a uniform curve.

The key to the content of the fragment, in so far as it can be determined, is the word ἐπίκληρον 'heiress' in 13. Under Attic law, in the absence of any other binding arrangement, the guardianship of a man's unmarried daughter passed on his death to his nearest male blood relation. Suppose he has no father living, and no sons or direct male descendants from them, the daughter can be claimed in marriage by one of his brothers in order of seniority, and so on, with the intention that the estate passes eventually to her male issue; there are special provisions for daughters of people in the lowest property class. There is considerable discussion of the full extent and the details of these provisions among experts;<sup>2</sup> but given that the basic principles either were plain or could be made plain to a normal person in a theatre, it is not surprising to find that the position of an heiress is at times the central theme of a comedy (as in *Aspis*, with the foiling of Smikrines in his role of Wicked Uncle), and at other times taken for granted as part of the background (as with Knemon's provisions for the future of his family in *Dyskolos* 729-39). The question here is whether the heiress is likely to be part of the plot, or is simply mentioned in passing.

Until line 12, at any rate, the piece represents a rapid interchange of dialogue, as the paragraphoi show. The one speaker's name that can be read with acceptable probability is a slave-name, Donax (10)—the product of a fine observation in a seminar by Dr Colin Austin. There are traces of another name at 8, and (it seems) of a different one over the line in 5. One of the three is told to go in at 8; Donax appears to be speaking for all three, or at least for two of the three, when he picks up the phrase οὐκ ἀνέχομαι in 9 with ἡμᾶς ἀνέχεσθαι (11). It is then likely that all three are slaves (it is possible to read the damaged names so as to suit that guess); and it is likely that the intolerable situation referred to is one produced by the person who is subject of οὐδ' ἠρυνθρίακεν (6) and also of the supposition in relation to the heiress given by εἰ μὲν ... ἐπίκληρον εἶχε in 12 f. In other words, one is looking towards the possibility of a slave dialogue like that at the beginning of *Heros*, for instance, in which a piece of action to come is introduced and given an interesting perspective by what the slaves say of their own and their masters' affairs. That would most naturally happen at the

<sup>2</sup> A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens: The Family and Property* (1968), esp. 9-12; Douglas MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (1978) 95-100; John Gould, in *JHS* 100 (1980) at pp. 43-5.

beginning of a play; but Aristophanes, *Frogs* 738 ff. (although in Old Comedy) is worth remembering as a clear warning against too rigid a view in this regard. Plays about heiresses are many: Menander wrote two with the title *Epikleros*, and has it in common with several other fourth-century writers; the *Epidikazomenos* of Apollodorus of Carystus, on which Terence based his *Phormio*, likewise has several homonyms; and we do not know how many more plays there were like *Aspis*, whose title gives no clue to the 'heiress' theme of the plot. The justification for so extended a discussion of so few words is in the hope that it may one day lead the piece into a relationship with another and more informative text. So handsome a copy, even in a poor relic, deserves to be (but may not be) a copy of a major play.

	.. [		
	.. [		
	θρ. [                      ] . . . . [		
	ιτηρηπυ [ . . . ] . . . . . [		
5	αυτον:θε . . ωπα . [		
	ουδηρυθ . . ακ . ν . . [		οὐδ' ἠρυθρίακεν . . [                      6
	ὄζ . . τίβουλειπ . [		ὁ ζῶν· τί βούλει π . [
.....	υτον·βαδιζ' ειω [                      4ρ. . .		αὐτόν· βάδιζ' εἴω [
	ουκανεχομαιγα [		οὐκ ἀνέχομαι γὰ [ρ
10    δον . ξ	ευτοιγε . οναμεν [                      Δόναξ		εὐ̄ τοι γεγόναμεν [                      10
	ημασανεχες . αιτα [		ἡμᾶς ἀνέχεσθαι τα [ὑτα
	ειμεντετα . . ονμ . [		εἰ μὲν τέταρτον μ . [
	επικληρονειχενῆ [		ἐπικληρον εἶχε, νῆ [Δί'
	. . . . ]λεπ . . . θ . ε . [		

1 Specks only      2 Could be αλ [ (HM)      3 θρη [- (?), then ]ω . . [      4 Perhaps εἴτε; ] . . .  
lower parts of two curves, as for ες, εε or the like; end, . . ω [      5 θεωρῶ HM; last is a vertical. Above  
the line, *nota personae* at change of speaker, or perhaps correction: the first might be π [ and the last ]ας: ??  
Π[υθί]ας, Π[υρρί]ας      7-8 There are traces of horizontal ink above the line after βουλει and over εω  
of ειω: I do not know why      7 There is abrasion after ὄζ: ὁ Ζεὺς τί was considered, but does not fit  
well; the ὁ ζῶν· τί now suggested is still no more than a venture      8 Traces of ink in the margin may  
represent a speaker's name beginning 4ρ- (HM)      10 Speaker's name so read by CA and confirmed  
by HM      13 Between ν and η there is a curved stroke over the line which I take to be a hyphen, to  
help the reader to arrive at εἶχε νῆ (as for νῆ Δία) and not εἶχε νη [ . Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 11, says that he knows  
of only one example of it written so, rather than under the line, namely in the second-century copy of  
Bacchylides, *Dithyrambs* published as VIII 1091, fr. 1, line 5      14 E.g. τὸ χα]λεπόν; but what next?

5 αὐτόν is not necessarily emphatic by virtue of this placing (see, for instance, *Dysk.* 540 f.); but it is odd to find it so placed again in 8 if the repetition is not in some way significant.



6 A stronger way of saying οὐδ' αἰσχύνεται, 'shows no shame at all'. The perfect of ἐρυθρίαω is quoted by LSJ only from an official letter of 73 BC, PTebt 1. 37, where the flush of anger is perhaps indicated rather than the blush of shame; but Apollodorus com. 13K.-A. has ἀπηρυθριακότως 'shamelessly'.

7 ὁ ζῶν 'the survivor' is tentatively read; it implies a contrast with 'the deceased' (see, e.g., M. Sik. 131 f.). In a context involving an *epikleros*, the expression is apt to refer to her late father's next of kin, the man who can claim to marry her (however unsuitably) and so to take control of the estate: see the introductory note.

8-11 If the marginal ink represents a speaker's name correctly placed, αὐτόν must somehow be construed as an isolated remark, for which see Ar. *Clouds* 218 and my note on M. *Dysk.* 144. The probability is that the person concerned is the same as the αὐτός of 5, in fact the principal subject of the whole scrap of dialogue. With βάδιζ' εἶσω one of those present is dismissed inside; οὐκ ἀνέχομαι (9) is picked up by Donax, who may be either associating himself with the idea or deprecating it — probably the latter, in view of the argumentative tone which seems to set in with 12-13. The name Donax is known as a slave-name: in real life from the will of Theophrastus, as given by Diogenes Laertius (5. 55) and in Comedy at M. *Sik.* 385-6, *Dysk.* 959 and T. *Eun.* 772. If as a slave he is rejecting involvement, the line may have been something like εὖ τοι γεγόναμεν [ἀντὶ δούλων δεσπότηι; the ἡμᾶς ἀνέχεσθαι ταῦτα could either be an independent exclamation or be governed by a following verb.

12-13 One might guess that the 'if' clause runs to εἶχε and expresses an unreal condition in present time; and there will very likely follow an *a fortiori* argument introduced by νῦν δέ... 'as it is'. The oath was not necessarily νῆ [Δία, but if it had been a more prominent one, such as νῆ [τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ θεούς the hyphen to clarify the word-division might not have been thought useful. Perhaps τέταρτον μέ[ρος (the dot of ink at the end might be almost anything): the sense might be on the lines of 'if he had a quarter of the estate and the heiress too, by Heaven it would be bad enough, but now he claims it all'.

E. W. HANDLEY

### III. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

#### 3973. REPORT TO A STRATEGUS

9 1B.170/F(b)

27.5 × 22.5 cm

Late first–mid second century

Two columns of a report made to the strategus of the Saite nome, in the Western Delta, by a village scribe, in response to a request from the strategus of the Athribite nome, in the Southern Delta, that he exact payment of certain amounts owing to the account of the Athribite. The details are missing but as the final lines of col. ii mention *φόροι* (24) and contain what appears to be the topographical description of some property (25–6), it seems likely that **3973** was concerned with holders of state land who paid land-rent or taxes in their own nome on land held in another, in this case the Athribite nome. In such cases the taxes were periodically credited to the account of the nome in which the property was actually located, see XLII **3030** introd.

This is the first appearance of a named strategus of the Saite nome, and he may constitute another example of a man who had served as a strategus bringing his official papers back home with him to reuse for his own purposes, see E. G. Turner, *JEA* 38 (1952) 89–90, S. Daris, *Stud. Pap.* 22 (1983) 121–33, esp. 128–9 (and add LI **3602–3605**). **3973** had been made up into a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*, as is evident from a prominent join c. 2–3 cm from the left hand margin and from a few traces of the preceding document on the left hand edge opposite lines 2–4. Another join, this time one made by the manufacturer of the roll from which the piece with the report was cut, runs vertically near the centre of the whole fragment. The back of the papyrus bears the exiguous remains, not transcribed, of four entries from an account of money payments, written across the fibres in a different, more cursive, hand, with an annotation to their left in another hand which reads (*δραχμαὶ*) ρν, ‘dr. 150’.

Apart from the mention of a regnal year possibly numbered 20, or more, in line 13, there is no indication surviving of the date, either in **3973** or in the remains on the back. Nevertheless a date of late first century to mid second is palaeographically suitable for the hands on both front and back; possible years within this period are 116/7+, 135/6+, and 156/7+.

The strategi have been listed in G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 58 (Athribite), 108 (Saite).

i

up to 20 letters? ] . [ up to 15 letters? ] ρ . [

(vac.)

(vac.)

- 5 Ἡρᾶ τῶ καὶ Διονυσίῳ στρατηγῶ Καΐτου  
 παρὰ Ἡρακλείδου κωμογρ(αμματέως) Θερύθεως καὶ ἄλ(λων).  
 πρὸς ἐπίσταλμα γραφέν σοι ὑπὸ Δομιτίου Ἀπολι-  
 ναρίου στρατηγοῦ Ἀθρειβεΐτου, οὗ ἐστὶν ἀντίγρ(αφον):—  
 10 ‘Δομίτιος Ἀπολιναρίου στρ(ατηγὸς) Ἀθρειβεΐτου Ἡρᾶ  
 τῶ καὶ Διονυσίῳ στρ(ατηγῶ) Καΐτου τῶ φι[λ(τάτῳ)] χαίρειν.  
 [ c. 15 letters ] . . . . . πρὸς τὰ ἐπ[ι]στα-  
 λέ[ν]τα c. 30 letters  
 10 κείμενα κεφάλαια. ἴν’ οὖν εἰδῆς καὶ τὴν τούτων  
 (m. 2?) Βησᾶ ἀπαίτησιν ποιησάμενος προσθῆ ὑπὲρ τοῦδε τοῦ  
 νομοῦ ἐμοί τε δηλώσης, ἐπέστειλά σοι. ἐρρῶςθ(αί) σε εὐχομ(αι).  
 (ἔτους) κ[. . .] . . . . . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] οἱ διακριταὶ  
 μετέδω[καν  
 15 εἰ[  
 [  
 [ c. 5 ] . . . [  
 [c. 3] . [

ii

c. 15 letters ] . [ . . ] . [

(vac.)

- 20 ὅπως, ἐὰν πράξει ὑποπέιπτωσι[  
 καὶ τὰς διδομένας μ. . . εἰ . . . [  
 μὴ πραχθῆναι το[ . . . ] . [  
 μον. διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ βιβλιδίου [  
 φόρων ἀπὸ Θερύθεως . [

25 ἀδεσπότους, πρὸς βορᾶ καὶ λίβα ἱερο. [  
 [  
 . ν[  
 . [ .  
 . [  
 30 . [

3 κωμογρ<sup>δ</sup>, ᾶ 5, 6 l. Ἀθριβίτου 5 αντιγρ<sup>δ</sup> 6 στρ<sup>δ</sup> 7 στρ<sup>δ</sup>, φι[<sup>λ</sup>] 10-11 Interlinear  
 marginal addition perhaps by m. 2 12 ερρωε<sup>θ</sup>, ευχο<sup>μ</sup> 13 ∟ 20 l. ὑποπίπτωσι 25 l. βορᾶ

col. i

‘To Heras alias Dionysius, strategus of the Saite nome, from Heracleides, village scribe of Therythis and other (villages). In response to the communication written to you by Domitius Apolinarius, strategus of the Athribite nome, of which this is a copy:-

‘Domitius Apolinarius, strategus of the Athribite nome, to Heras alias Dionysius, strategus of the Saite nome, his dearest colleague, greetings.... in response to the ... communicated ... aforementioned (?) sums. Therefore, in order that you may know and, having exacted payment of these, may have them credited on behalf of this nome and notify me, I have sent you this written communication. I pray that you are well. Year 20(+?) (month, day)...’ ...the examiners have passed on the information...’

col. ii

‘...so that, if they are subject to sale ... and the ... given to ... not have been done (exacted?). Therefore through (in?) the petition ... of land-rents from Therythis ... ownerless (properties), to the north and west (of?) a temple(?) ...’

1 The traces of letters on the uppermost edge of the top margin (of c. 2.5 cm) may be the remnants of column numbers or annotations made in the top margin, rather than the end of another text. The second group, ] . [ , is above the intercolumnar space. Both columns start on approximately the same level.

2-4 Exiguous traces on the left hand edge, clearly the final strokes at the ends of lines in the preceding document of the τόμος συγκολλήσιμος. Although insufficient to be transcribed, enough remains to show that it was not written in the same hand as **3973**.

2 Heras alias Dionysius is not otherwise known. On the possibility that he was an Oxyrhynchite, see introd.

Caίτου. The fifth nome of Lower Egypt, situated in the Western Delta, with its territory mainly in the area between the Canopic and Rosetta branches of the Nile, although Sais itself stood on the eastern bank of the Rosetta branch, see H. Gauthier, *Les nomes* 89, XI **1380** 19 n.

3 Θερύθειας, cf. 24, is not otherwise attested.

4-5 Domitius Apolinarius, cf. 6, is not otherwise known.

5 Ἀθριβεΐτου (l. Ἀθριβίτου). The tenth nome of Lower Egypt, located in the Southern Delta, cf. A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* s.v., H. Gauthier, *Les nomes* 4, 35. The name survives in modern Tell Atrib, see XI **1380** 39 n.

9-10 κείμενα κεφάλαια. [προ]κείμενα, [προς]κείμενα or [ὑπο]κείμενα are all likely possibilities.

10-11 Βησᾶ. There is no obvious place for this in the text, nor does the meaning, ‘of Besas’, make any certain sense in the context, but it could be a clarification of τούτων, i.e. these sums were the responsibility of someone called Besas. The writing could well be in a second hand, although the style is similar.

13 After κ[. .], a reading which seems preferable to β[. .], only isolated tops of letters are present before the raised horizontal which presumably marks the day number. It seems that the emperor was not named at this point; the month name remains unread.

After Tiberius, who is probably too early for this hand, no emperor reached a twentieth year until Trajan. Year 20 (or 20+) of Trajan (116/7+) is perhaps the most likely; year 20 of Hadrian and Pius, 135/6+ and 156/7+, are also possible.

13-14 οἱ διακριταὶ μετέδω[καν. Cf. esp. SB XIV 11381 ii 4 μεταδεδοῦσθαι [αὐτῶ]ι [ὑ]πὸ διακριτῶν; also SB V 7741. 9, XVI 12696. 11, 17. On the title that is known about these officials, sometimes called more explicitly διακριταὶ τῶν ἐχθέσεων, 'examiners of arrears', see R. R. Malek, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 215-16. They appear particularly in cases where cooperation between the accounting systems of two strategates is required, as here.

15-18 Traces only.

19 As at the top of col. i, see 1 n., the traces of letters here may represent the remains of something written above the text in its top margin, here c. 1.5 cm wide, not the bottom of another text. These traces are rather lower than those above col. i and the intercolumnium.

If col. ii was the same width as col. i, c. 38 letters, there are at least 12 letters missing at the line ends.

24 φόρων. The context suggests that the term here bears the meaning of land-rents charged on state land, on which see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 71-2, XLIV 3180 5 n.

24-5 ἀδεσπότες. Perhaps [ψιλοὺς τόπους] ἀδεσπότες.

26-30 Traces only.

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#### 3974. DECLARATION TO A STRATEGUS

2 1B.105/J(a)

8 × 13 cm

165/6

A declaration by Thonis *major*, *θεαγός* (see 6 n.) of Thoëris, to the royal scribe and acting strategus Dionysius, to the effect that his son and nephew have undergone *epicrisis* and paid the entrance fee (*εἰσκριτικόν*) to the rank of *θεαγός*.

It has long been known that all those who were attached to temples, whatever their rank, were subject, like other privileged classes, to an *epicrisis* to prove their right to their position and that they were required to pay an entrance fee, see W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* i 213-17, S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 249-52, E. H. Gilliam, *YCS* 10 (1947) 203-5. Even so, there is no exact parallel for the present text, although the responsibility of the strategus and royal scribe for the supervision of temples at nome level is well documented, see *YCS* 10 (1947) 197, M. Stead, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* 416, XII 1435, XLIX 3472, P. Tebt. II 298 introd.

3974 may usefully be compared with XLIX 3470-71, which show what might happen if the entrance fee was not paid on time. In those cases the delay in payment seems to have prompted the query from the office of the *Idios Logos*; in the present text, a failure by the applicant to ensure that the local authorities had noted (17) the payment of the entrance fee might have had more serious consequences, resulting eventually in a challenge by the *Idios Logos* to the boys' hereditary right to the office of *θεαγός* and an attempt to confiscate the offices for sale to someone else, cf. P. Vindob. Boswinkel 1, with P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos* 57-9.

The back is blank.



Διονυσίῳ βασιλ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) διαδεχ(ομένῳ)  
 καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῆν στρ(ατηγίαν)  
 παρὰ Θώνιος πρεσβυτέρου  
 Θώνιος τοῦ Πλουτάρχου μητ(ρὸς)  
 5 Ταῦσεῖριος Πετάλου ἀπ' Ὁξυρύν-  
 χων πόλεως θεαγοῦ Θοήριδ[ος  
 θεᾶς μεγίστης Θοηρείου Θενε(πμοῖ)  
 καὶ ἐτ[έ]ρου Πασιν[...].ρ.[...]...νν.  
 τόν τε υἰόν μου Θώνιν μ[ητ(ρὸς)]  
 10 Ταλοβαῖτος καὶ τὸν τ[οῦ μετηλ-  
 λαχότος μου ὀμ[ογνησίου?]  
 ἀδελφοῦ Θώ[νιος νεωτέρου]  
 υἰὸν Θώνιν μητρὸ[ς] . . . . .  
 ἀμφοτέρους προσβεβη[κ(έναι)] τῶ  
 15 ἐνεστῶτι ἔκτω ἔξει Ἀντωνίνου  
 καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρί[ω]ν Αὐτοκρατόρων  
 εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς) καὶ ὀφείλιν ἄυτοῦς' παραγραφ[ῆν]αι  
 τὸ ὑπέ]ρ τῆς θεαγείας ἰκκριτι[κὸν]  
 [διαγεγραφέναι c. 13 letters ]

1 βασιλγρσδιαδεχ?      2 στρς      4 μητ      7 θενε)      9 υἰον      10 ταλοβαῖτος  
 17 Traces of ink above εἰς, ἰδς      18 ἰκκριτι[κον]; 1. εἰκκριτικόν

'To Dionysius royal scribe, administering also the office of the strategus, from Thonis *major* son of Thonis, grandson of Plutarchus, whose mother is Tayseiris daughter of Petalus, from Oxyrhynchus, *theagus* of Thoëris, most great goddess, of the Thoereum of Thenepmōi and of another one of Pasin ... I declare(?) that both my son Thonis, whose mother is Talobäis, and Thonis the son of my deceased full (or uterine or paternal half?) brother Thonis *minor*, whose mother is ..., have both come forward into the category of fourteen-year-olds, in the present sixth year of Antoninus and Verus the lords emperors and that an annotation ought to be made by their names that (they have paid) the entrance fee for the office of *theagus* ...'

1 Dionysius is attested as royal scribe, acting strategus, also in XVIII **2182** (19 April 165) and in **3975**, cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 93, 143. It seems from the present text that he may have continued to serve as interim strategus until the appointment of Claudius Demetrius alias Hermias, who is first attested in office after 3 June 166 (PSI IX 1033).

6 θεαγοῦ, 'bearer of the gods'. *LSJ* and *Suppl.* should be emended accordingly. For the equivalence of the Greek to the demotic *t(3)j ntr.w*, see W. Clarysse's commentary on this title in P. Lille dem. IV 49. I am grateful to Dr Clarysse for a copy of this reference and for the information that θεαγῶν, rather than a proper name should also be read in P. Strasb. 770 ii.

The evidence for the Egyptian title, first attested in hieroglyphic form in 642/1 BC, and found in its demotic form throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, is fully discussed by J. Quaegebeur, *Mélanges*

A. Gutbub (Montpellier 1984) 161–176. To his conclusion that the theagoi were a religious association whose major role was to convey the corpses or mummies (for ‘the gods’ = ‘the dead’ cf. P. Turner 15, p. 78) of sacred animals from temple to necropolis the following points may be added from the Greek evidence:

i) PSI IX 1039 (216/7 or 267/8; for the date see A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv 125) confirms that the theagoi constituted a separate order, lower in the hierarchy than priests and pastophori; cf. also the existence of separate declarations of the members of each order (listed in XLIX 3473 introd. and E. Battaglia, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 90–99). The view of W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel* i 95 n. 1, followed by C. H. Roberts, *JEA* 20 (1934) 23, that they are the same as the pastophori, is to be rejected.

ii) PSI IX 1039.45, *θεάγικα*, shows that either sex might hold this office.

iii) ‘Bearer’ is to be understood in a general, and not a specific, sense, for the theagoi employed more than one means of transporting their charges. The pictorial evidence cited by Quaegebeur, *op. cit.* 175–6 n. 92, shows crocodiles and other sacred animals carried on biers, hauled on sledges and drawn on wheeled funeral carriages, and in P. Lille dem. IV 49 *tj ntr.w* is glossed as *ὄνηλά[της]* while in XLIX 3495 8 etc. a theagos receives payments which may be for boat hire, cf. P. Tebt. II 298. 30–33 n. and P. Ryl. II 196. 13–14 n.

iv) These theagos-payments for what is clearly commercial boat hire show further that, like the pastophori but unlike the priests proper, theagoi were permitted by the state to engage in commercial activities.

7 *Θοηρείου Θενε(πμοῖ)*. For other references to Athena-Thoëris and her cult places in Greek papyri, see now J. Quaegebeur etc., *ZPE* 60 (1985) 224–30, where it is suggested that the cult title(?) *Thenepmōi* should be interpreted as *t3-šrt-n-p3-m3j*, ‘the daughter of the lion’, rather than *t3-n(t)-p(3)-mw/m3j*, ‘she of the water/the island’, as suggested at XLIX 3472 19 n. The title may also be read in II 331 16 (ed. A. Martin, *CE* 56 (1981) 299–303) at the line end.

8 *Πασι[...].ρ.[...].νυ. : ρ* seems better than *φ*, which has a much longer descender. It may be possible to read *μηνύω*, or perhaps *νύω* at the end of the line, but what I would expect is a verb such as *δηλώ* or *προσφωνώ*, neither of which can be read. The sense, however, is clear enough from what follows.

*Πασι[...]*: otherwise unattested. Like *Thenepmōi*, it is uncertain whether this should be taken as a cult title, or as the name of a place where the goddess was worshipped. If the former, perhaps *Πασι[ίκη]*; if the latter, there may be a connection with the Thoëreum of Sintano, or Sintabo (SB V 7634. 9–10, P. Mert. I 26), if this is in fact a place name, see the discussion by C. H. Roberts, *JEA* 20 (1934) 25; read then *Πασι[τάν]ω*, ‘the territory of Sintano’, cf. M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 196, on the meaning of *Πασκώ*. I owe to Dr J. Quaegebeur the suggestion that *πα-* here is perhaps a reduction of *p3-ε-* (Coptic *ππ*-), ‘the place of’, rather than *p3-n-* (Coptic *πλ*), ‘the one of’.

14–17 *προσβεβη[κ(έναι)] ... εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς)*. It is clear that this refers to a different examination from that carried out before the *ἀρχιερεύς*, on whom see now M. Stead, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* 411–18, esp. 413–4, or the *ἀρχιπροφήτης*, see A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv 124–31, being more akin to the civil epicrisis for admission to the metropolitan or gymnasial classes, see E. H. Gilliam, *YCS* 10 (1947) 204, n. 115. The distinction between the two types of examination appears clearly in P. Tebt. II 298 (107/8), in which *stolistae* are examined by the strategus and royal scribe (line 20), whereas priests ‘of the first tribe’ are examined in the presence of the Idios Logos, see P. R. Swarney, *Idios Logos* 57–8, and also in XLIX 3470–71 (AD 131), where it is stated that the minors in question *προσβάντες εἰς (τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετείς) ... τὸ ἰκριτικὸν διέγραψαν*, but that it is not customary for them to undergo epicrisis by the *ἀρχιπροφήτης*.

18 *τὸ ὑπέ]ρ τῆς θεαγείας: οἱ τὸ τῆς α]ῦτῆς θεαγείας.*

18–19 For the supplement cf. XLIX 3470–71 17–21, 14–18, quoted above, 14–17 n.

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## 3975. SWORN DECLARATION OF A SKIPPER

72/51(a)

6 × 7.5 cm

c. 165–166

The beginning of an undertaking on oath by Clemens, skipper of a private riverboat, to make his craft available for the transport of grain for the state, cf. IX 1197, republished by R. A. Coles, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 61 (1986) 108–110. It is addressed to Dionysius, royal scribe and acting strategus, who has appeared also in this capacity in XVIII 2182 (19 April 165) and 3974 of 165/6.

The back is blank.

Διονυσίῳ βασιλ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) διαδεχ(ομένῳ) καὶ  
 τὰ κατὰ τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν) διὰ Σαρα(πίωνος) γε-  
 γυμν(ασιαρχηκότος) δι[α]δόχ(ου) τῆς στρ(ατηγίας).  
 Κλήμης Ἡρακ[λ]είδου τοῦ Κλή-  
 5 μεντος μητρὸς Τααρθώνιος  
 ἀπὸ κώμης Χυνώθμεως  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου νομοῦ  
 καταγεινόμενος ἐν Σέσφθα  
 τοῦ Ὀξυρυχείτου, κυβερνή-  
 της ἰδίας κκά[φης c. 7 letters  
 10 [ c. 20–25 letters ]  
 ὀμ[νύω Αὐτοκράτο]ρα Καίσαρα  
 Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον] Ἄντωνε[ῖνον  
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Κα]ίσαρα

1 βασι<sup>λ</sup>γρσδιαδεχ 2 στρς, σαρα<sup>1</sup> 2–3 γεγυμνς 3 δι[α]δοχ, στρς 6 1. Χοινώθμεως  
 7 1. Ἡρακλεοπολίτου 8 1. καταγεινόμενος 9 1. Ὀξυρυχείτου 10 ἰδιας 13 1. Ἄντωνῖνον

‘To Dionysius, royal scribe administering also the office of the strategus, through Sarapion, ex-gymnasiarch and deputy in the strategiate. I, Clemens, son of Heracleides, grandson of Clemens, whose mother is Taharthonis, from the village of Choenothmis in the Heracleopolite nome, residing in Sespthta in the Oxyrhynchite nome, skipper of a private boat ... swear by Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Emperor Caesar (Lucius Aurelius Verus, the Augusti) ...’

1 The earliest and the latest dates possible for Dionysius as royal scribe are March/April 159, when ... alias Theon was in office (P. Laur. III 63), and c. 169–71, when Heracleides was royal scribe and acting-strategus (XXXI 2563 18–19; on the date see J. D. Thomas, *Epistrategos* ii 189, 201). Heracleides is also attested on 13 November 170 (XVII 2134 1, where his name fits the lacuna at the beginning of the line). However, as Dionysius has already occurred as acting-strategus on 19 April 165 (XVIII 2182: not 166 as *ed. pr.*) and in 3974 (165/6) and a full strategus, Claudius Demetrius alias Hermias, is known from 3 June 166 (PSI IX 1033. 12–13), it seems likely that 3975 should also be dated to c. 165–166, cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 93, 143.

2-3 *Καρα(πίωνος) γυγνυ(ασιαρρηκότος)*. Gymnasiarchs of this name from this period known to P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle Liste des Gymnasiarques* 14-15 occur in P. Mert. I 18, 7-14 (ex-gymnasiarch 161) and XLIX 3492 14 (gymnasiarch 161-9). The name is so common that all three may be different.

3 *δι[α]δόχ(ου)*. The use of the phrase *διὰ ... διαδόχου* usually indicates that the official in question is only temporarily absent and has delegated his authority only for that period, see M. H. Eliassen-de Kat, *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie* iv 119-120.

The addition of *τῆς στρατηγίας* here indicates that Sarapion is temporarily replacing Dionysius only in his role of acting-strategus, not in his capacity as royal scribe, cf. the form of expression used in BGU XIII 2238. 2-7, where strategus and royal scribe are each represented by a different deputy.

6 *Χυνώθμεως*. Read probably *Χοινώθμεως*, see LV 3805 91 n. On the geographical relationship of Sespitha in the Lower Toparchy to the Heracleopolite nome see XII 1416 13 n., LV 3805 91 n. and LVIII 3957 introd. and 6 n.

10 *ιδίας*. For its meaning, 'private', in this context, = *ιδιωτικός* as opposed to *δημόσιος*, see A. J. M. Meyer-Termecr, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 8-9.

10-11 These lines possibly contained a description of the boat.

12-14 This wording of the oath formula is not recorded in E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 13, but it follows a normal pattern. It seems that, although *Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα* was repeated for each, the title of Augustus was postponed to the end, where it would have been given in the plural, *Κεβαστούς*, to apply to both Marcus and Verus.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3976. OATH OF OFFICE

31 4B.9/K(1-3)b

10 × 6.5 cm

242/3

A version of the first part of the customary oath taken by those about to undertake service as liturgists; for parallels see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services* 121 (add P. Oxy. Hels. 20 i, P. Harris II 193 and 204), and for discussion E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 76-80.

The writer gave up in the course of writing the first standard clause of the oath, perhaps because he realized at that stage that he had bungled the address by putting the nominative instead of the dative and had omitted to name the liturgy in question, which we should expect to have found mentioned in lines 5 or 6. If this is so, then the trimming of the bottom edge, which is close to the last line, probably took place at that time. Alternatively, it may have been a writing exercise, cf. MPER XV (=H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht*) 10-11. In which case the scrap was probably trimmed from some other document.

A sheet join running vertically c. 2.5 cm from the right edge shows that this side was the front of the roll from which the piece came. The join overlaps from right to left, so that the piece is upside down in the sense that if the roll had been used for an extended text, it would have been placed so that the joins overlapped from left to right and so offered less resistance to the movement of the pen.

On the back, written across the fibres, from top to bottom in relation to the draft on the front, are: (1) an address in the same hand as the text on the front, and (2) part of a double name in a second hand. Upside down in relation to these two and therefore from bottom to top in relation to the draft on the front are (3) three lines of



writing, all apparently in different hands, containing magical words. They too are perhaps best taken as practice rather than a complete magical formula, see note. J. R. Rea suggests that perhaps there was a group of clerks whiling away time in an office between jobs by writing these jottings.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ὁ καὶ Ἀπ[ολλώνιος  
 στρατηγὸς Ὀξ(υρυγίτου) παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Θε-  
 ωνος Δημητρίου μητρὸς Διονυσίας  
 τῆς καὶ Θαΐσιος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
 5 εἰδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ νυνὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀμφο-  
 δωγραμματέως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος 6 (ἔτους) ὀμνύω  
 τὴν Μάρκου Ἄντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Καίσαρος  
 τοῦ κυρίου τύχην εὐθέως ἀντιλήμ-  
 ψασθαι . . . (vac.)

Back, across the fibres, from top to bottom in relation to the writing on the front:

10 (m. 1) Αὐρηλίω Ἀπο[λ]λωνίω στρ(ατηγῶ)  
 Ὀξ(υρυγίτου) παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐ[ρηλίου]  
 (m. 2) (vac.) ὁ καὶ Θεῶν μητρός (vac.)

Back, upside down in relation to 10-12

(m. 3) Ἀβραχυτ( )  
 (m. 4) Ἀβραξαταχυτ( )  
 15 (m. 5) Ἀβρασαταχυτ( )

1-2 l. Αὐρηλίω Ἀμμωνίω τῶ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίω στρατηγῶ      2 οξ'      5-6 l. ἀμφοδογραμματέως  
 6 55      9 l. ἀντιλήμψεσθαι      10 στρς      11 οξ'      13 αβραχυτ'      14 αβραξαταχυτς  
 15 αβρασαταχυτ'

'Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Marcus Aurelius Theon son of Demetrius, whose mother is Dionysia alias Thaësis, from the same city. Having been nominated by the current amphodogrammatus of the city for the present sixth year, I swear by the *genius* of Marcus Antonius Gordianus Caesar the lord that I shall immediately undertake (vac.)'



Back:

‘To Aurelius Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Marcus Aurelius ...’

(2nd hand) (vac.) alias Theon, whose mother is (vac.)

(3rd hand) ‘Abrachyt( )’

(4th hand) ‘Abraxatachyt( )’

(5th hand) ‘Abrasatachyt( )’

<sup>1</sup> The writing of the addressee’s name in the nominative rather than dative is only one of several indications that **3976** is a draft or an exercise. Others are (1) the use of *τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως* in line 4 when only the nome has been mentioned; (2) the omission of the name of the liturgy in line 5 or 6; and (3) the abrupt ending of the text after *ἀντιλήμψασθαι*, where the colour of the ink suggests that the writer’s pen had run dry.

<sup>6</sup> Year 6 = 242/3, the latest date for Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius as strategus. He is elsewhere attested in P. Coll. Youtie I 65 = XLVII **3365** (22 May 241), P. Mich. XIV 675 (20 July 241), and **3977** (undated), cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 99. The nature of **3976** as a practice piece means that the present date may not be completely reliable.

<sup>13–15</sup> Upside down in relation to the other two entries on the back. Like the front, this is a draft or exercise rather than a complete magical formula. In each case the first part of the line recalls the common magical name *Ἀβρακάξ*; this occurs in several variants, as here, in the magical papyri and upon amulets, see K. Preisendanz, PGM iii Register vi s.v.; H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d’archéologie et de liturgie* I. i s.v. *Abrasax*; H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* 331 (with further bibliography). The name is often found invoked in the aggressive magic of binding spells (*κάτοχοι*) or love philtres (*ἀγωγαί*), so that, if the line is to be broken up, the second element might be construed as the instruction *ταχύ, ταχύ*, common in spells of this type. Alternatively the mark of abbreviation after the final tau might be expanded as *ταχύ τέλεσον*, cf. PGM ii XIII. 871.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

**3977. ADDRESS TO A STRATEGUS**

72/49(c)

7 × 6.5 cm

c. 241–243

An undated fragment from the beginning of another document addressed to the strategus Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, cf. **3976**. A join very close to the right edge is of an amateur type which indicates that this item formed part of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*. Too little remains of the letters of the last line to make a guess at the nature of the original text. The back is blank.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ  
 τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ  
 στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὀξ(υρυγχίτου)  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ζύρου

5 ἀπελευθέρου (vac.)

c. 12 letters ] . . . . [

. . . . .

3 *τροξοξ'*

'To Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Syrus, freedman, ...'

1-2 Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius is attested in 241 (after 22 May: P. Coll. Youtie I 65 = XLVII 3365) and, if the document is reliable, in 242/3, see 3976 introd. The *terminus post quem* for his tenure is 25 January 239, when Flavius Harpocration was still in office (XLIII 3133), the *terminus ante* possibly 244/5, when the strategus may have been Chaeremon: VI 970 descr. verso 1, although the address to Chaeremon seems unconnected with the text on the recto which bears the date. Otherwise a firm *terminus ante* is 28 January 245, when Aurelius Dius alias Pertinax is first known in office, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 99, add LVIII 3925 and 1 n.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 3978. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS

16 2B.45/E(b)

6 × 14 cm

249/50

A petition to the strategus to notify him of fire damage connected with a house in the village of Seryphis used for weaving. Other reports related to fire damage are BGU IV 1201 (AD 2) and XLI 2997 (214). On this sort of petition, which might be more properly described as a report, see especially M. *Gdz.* 32-6, cf. LVIII 3916 introd.; usually they ask for the report to remain on the record, obviously with a view to legal proceedings in the future. In this case no allusion is made to that possibility.

Of more interest perhaps is the fact that 3978 provides a date for the strategiate of Aurelius Protarchus alias Heron, and therefore also for the undated P. Turner 41, in which he has already appeared, see 1 n.

The back is blank.

Αὐρηλίω Πρωτάρχω τῷ  
 καὶ Ἡρωνι στρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυχίτου  
 παρὰ] Αὐρηλίων Θέωνος  
 τοῦ καὶ Μουνατίου βουλευ-  
 5 τοῦ τῆς Ὀξυρυχειτῶν πόλε-  
 ως καὶ Δημητρίου Θέωνος  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. τῇ δι-  
 ελθούσῃ] λ' *επιμήρ* ἀπὸ  
 c. 5 ]ης πλησίον ἧ' *ε'* ἔχο-

10     μεν εἰς] ὑφήν λεντίω(ν)  
           c. 8 ] ὧν ἔχομεν  
           c. 6 ] . . . . . [ . ] . ρα  
           . . . λινο]καλάμης, ἐν  
           ἧ ἔχο]μεν ἐν μισθώσει  
 15     ἐν κ]ώμῃ Σερύφει οἰκί-  
           α, τα]ύτην ὑφήψεν. αὐ-  
           τ]ὸ τοῦτο μαρτυρόμε-  
           νοι ἐπιδίδομεν τὰ βιβλί-  
           δι]α. (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκράτορος  
 20     Κα[ί]σαρος Γαῖου Μεσσιίου  
           Κουίντο]υ Τ[ραϊανοῦ Δεκίου]υ

2 ετρσοξ'

5 l. Ὁξυρυγιτών

8 λ

9 εχο- (filler stroke)

10 λεντιῶ

19 Λ α'

'To Aurelius Protarchus alias Heron, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Theon alias Munatius, councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Demetrius son of Theon from the same city. On the past 30th (of last month) a spark from (a furnace?) near (a storeroom?) of ... (bundles?) of flax, which we have for the weaving of linens in a house which we hold on lease in the village of Seryphis, set fire to this. Bearing witness of this we submit the petition. Year 1 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius ...

1-2 *Ἀυρηλίῳ Πρωτάρχῳ τῷ καὶ Ἡρωνί.* Otherwise known only from the undated P. Turner 41, cf. G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 99. His term may now be dated between 247/8, when Aurelius Philoxenus was still strategus (XVII 2123), and August 251, when an acting-strategus]ος, perhaps to be identified with *Σύρος* of I 62 = W. *Chr.* 278, is found in LI 3610.

3-4 *Θέωνος [τοῦ καὶ Μουνατίου.* As the name Munatius is so unusual, this is likely to be the same man as Aurelius Munatius, prytanis in 265/6 (XXXI 2569 1), who had by then dropped his original Greek name.

9 ]ης. Eta is broken but sure. Perhaps *τέφρ]ης*, 'ashes', or *μαρίλ]ης*, 'embers', although neither word has occurred to date in the papyri. A by-form *καμίνη*, from *ἡ κάμινος*, 'oven, furnace', appears once in P. Lond. III 994. 11 (p. 259) of AD 517, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 40. A spark from a neighbouring furnace, restoring *καμ(ε)ίν]ης*, would make good sense here, but it must remain rather a remote possibility.

11-16 The gap in 11 must have held a noun to agree with *ἡς* in 9, perhaps *ἀποθήκης*, cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* 41, a room or building used for storage. The substance stored there was flax (*λινο]καλάμης*, 13), ultimately destined for the weaving of linens (10). The flax seems to have been measured or contained in units which were the antecedent of *ὧν* in 11, perhaps bundles *δέσμαι*, *δέματα*, although none of the traces in 12 seem to suit these words. Finally the storeroom seems to have been in a house leased by the presenters of the document (13-16). In 16 *τα]ύτην* or *α]ύτην* is ambiguous. Was the house set on fire or only the flax?

12 ] . . . . . [ . ] ρ . . Some of these traces are on the upper of the two fragments and some on the lower. They seem to belong to one line, but this is not entirely certain.

19 The earliest known papyrological date from year 1 of Decius remains September/October 249 in SB I 4651 (corr. BL V 93); for the date of his accession see X. Lorient in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II. 2 788-97, and for a discussion of the papyrological evidence LI 3608-10 introd. Lacking its day and month date, 3978 unfortunately has nothing to add.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

## 3979. BUSINESS LETTER

31 4B.9/K(1-3)a

10 × 18 cm

26 September 266 (or 25 March 267?)

A business letter which also serves as a note of credit for the transfer of funds. For the format cf. BGU IV 1064 (with the discussion of F. Preisigke, *Griechische Aegypten* 204-5) and SB XIV 12094; XLIII 3146, which may also be an ἐπιθήκη, see there 8 n., differs in being written in the form of a receipt which was then cancelled, not as an order to pay like the other examples.

The text offers two *addenda lexicis* (lines 6 and 15), of which the second, connected with the weaving trade, remains unexplained. There is a sheet join 3.5 to 4 cm from the left hand edge. The back is blank.

Καψαννεύς Λεωνίδη τῷ  
 υἱῷ πολλὰ χαίρειν.  
 καλῶς ποιήσεις μεταβαλλόμενος  
 παρὰ σοὶ ἐν Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ Αὐρη-  
 5 λιώ Ἡρακλείδῃ υἱῷ Κεφάλω-  
 νος ὀρνιθάτος συλλα-  
 ρείτῃ Λεωνίδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 ἡμῶν ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ  
 νομίσματος δραχμὰς ἑνα-  
 10 κοσίας, ἀνθ' οὗ ἔσχον τὰς ἵσας  
 πλήρης δραχμὰς ἑνακοσίας  
 ἐνθάδε ἐν κώμῃ Σέφθα, ἀλλ' οὐ  
 μὴ αὐτὸν κατὰσχῃς. σημείου  
 χάριν ὅτε ἐνεβαλλόμεν  
 15 σοὶ λινᾷ σέμεστα τριακόσια  
 ὅτε ἐνέβης μετὰ Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρου τοῦ ὀθονιακοῦ. ἡ ἐπιθή-  
 κη κυρία καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς  
 ὁμολόγησα.  
 20 (ἔτους) ιδ' τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γ[αλλι-  
 ηνοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] Θῶθ κθ.

4 ὀξυρυγ'χειτῃ: 1. Ὀξυρυγχείτῃ  
 19 1. ὁμολόγησα

6 1. συλλαυρίτῃ

9, 11 1. ἑνακοσίας

10 ἵσας

14 1. ὅτι



'Sinsansneus to Leonides his/her (?) son, many greetings. Please pay over at your place in the Oxyrhynchite to Aurelius Heracleides, son of Cephalon the poulterer, who lives in the same street as our brother Leonides, nine hundred drachmas of money of imperial coinage, in lieu of which I have received the equivalent amount in full of nine hundred drachmas here in the village of Sephtha, but do not detain him. As proof (that this instruction comes from Sinsansneus): I loaded for you three hundred linen *semesta* when you embarked with Alexander the linen-dealer. The note of credit is binding and having been formally questioned I have assented.'

'Year 14 of our lord Gallienus Augustus, Thoth 29'.

1 *Κυψανενεύς*. Not listed by F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, but regularly formed from *Ψανενεύς*, plus the prefix *Κυ-*. Cf. the by-form *Κευκανενώς*. We rather expect the prefix to be feminine, derived from an Egyptian expression meaning 'daughter of', but below in 18 we seem to have *ἐπερωτηθείς* masculine, rather than *-θεῖ[ς]α* feminine, and it may well be that this name is masculine, cf. J. Quaegebeur, *CE* 56 (1981) 350-9, cf. J. Bingen, *CE* 63 (1988) 168 and n. 2.

3-4 *μεταβαλλόμενος παρὰ σοί*. It is clear now that this should also be read in the parallel BGU IV 1064. 3-4, in place of *με[τ]αβαλλών τ[ῶ] παρὰ σοί*.

6 *συλλαυρείτη* (l. *συλλαυρίτη*). *Addendum lexicis*. The word has occurred before in P. RyI. IV 606. 37 (late third century), where the editors took it as an adjective deriving from a place name and capitalized it. The wording of this text, however, makes it clear that the meaning must be 'living in the same *λαύρα*, near neighbour'.

7 *ἀδελφοῦ*. Like *υἱῶ* in line 2, the term is probably conventional, cf. XLVIII 3396 introd.

11 *πλήρης*. The indeclinable form 'in full', see F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter s.v.*, H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* ii 653, rather than a miswriting of acc. pl. *πλήρεις*.

13-14 *σημείου χάριν*. For the practice of authenticating a letter by relating as 'proof' a personal detail known only to the correspondents see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 963-75, J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 14 (1974) 14, 21 (1976) 116 (with list of parallels), 26 (1977) 230; add P. Gen. inv. 72. 3 (G. Bouvier, C. Wehrli, *Anagnēsis* I (1981) 173), R. Salomons, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 339. For *nota* used in a similar way in Latin letters of recommendation see H. C. Cotton, *AJP* 106 (1985) 332 and n. 16; for a possible use of *signum* in the same sense see S. Daris, *ZPE* 85 (1991) 275.

15 *λιᾶ ἐμέεστα*. Better taken as two words rather than a compound, where *λινο-* would be expected, although it is not clear whether the accentuation should be *λιᾶ* or *λίνα*.

*ἐμέεστα*. *Addendum lexicis*. The term can be related to none of those discussed by E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes*, or R. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iv 192 ff. In view of the large number involved, we seem to have either a unit of measure or the name of an item of linen made for a particular purpose. Rea has suggested that this may be Latin *semis*, gen. *semissis*, and so mean 'half-units'. For the phonetic changes see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 247, 255 and 66, but it should be noted that *ε* for *e* and *-στ-* for *-cc-* are by no means common. The Diocletianic *Edictum de Pretiis* quotes the majority of linen items by the complete web, *ἱστός*, *τελα*, see section 26, ed. M. Giacchero. The other terms of measure commonly used are *τετράλακκον* (= *quaternio*: *Edictum*, loc. cit.), *δύλακκον*, and *πεντάλακκον*, see LI 3626 16-17 n. It is obviously difficult to relate *ἐμέεστα* to any of these.

18 *ἐπερωτηθείς*. The final long horizontal is at a high level which suggests that it is the cap of sigma rather than the tail of the alpha which would suit *-θεῖ[ς]α*, cf. 1 n. on the form of the writer's name.

20-21 A slight trace before the omega of the month name suits the ligature of theta for Thoth rather than part of the nu of Phamenoth: nu is not ligatured to the following letter in this hand, although the latter (= 25 March 267) cannot be entirely excluded.

The titlature is restored as the most common short version, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures* 121. This seems a little cramped for space, but only one example, P. Strasb. 132. 15, of the omission of *Κεβαστοῦ* is recorded by Bureth. If we adopt that, even dividing *Γ[αλ-λιηνοῦ]*, which is more comfortable, there would certainly be room for *Φαμε]γῶθ*, but the trace, as already explained, is against it.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE



## 3980. INSTRUCTIONS TO DECAPROTI

7 1B.1/X(c)

13 × 12 cm

300-mid 302

Instructions from the strategus Aurelius Alexander (?), who is new, see 1 n., to the decaproti of part of the Lower toparchy to see to the loading of grain onto one of the state grain ships. The back is blank.

A *terminus ante quem* for the date of **3980** is provided by the appearance of decaproti since that office seems to have been abolished between May and July 302, see J. D. Thomas, *BASP* 11 (1974) 60–68. The *terminus post quem* is given by the presence in line 7 of Valerius Euethius as *rationalis*. His predecessor Pomponius Domnus was still in office on 1 March 300 (P. Panop. Beatty 2. 270). As Euethius himself is otherwise first attested in office on 23 September 302 in P. Cornell 20. 5 etc. and 20(a). 7, 27, it follows that **3980** is now the earliest reference to him as *rationalis*. Note also that his latest possible date in office is now 27 January 304 (or 26 January 305), when his successor ... ius Serapodorus appears in P. Lond. inv. 1260. 4 (text in P. Panop. Beatty pp. 153–6), see CPR V 6. 7 and 10–11 nn. For other references to his tenure see A. H. M. Jones etc., *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i s.v., J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 258.

The organisation of the state corn-transport has been much discussed (note especially M. Rostowzew, *APF* 3 (1906) 212–24, O. Osl. 17–21 nn., E. Börner, *Der Staatliche Korntransport*, N. Hohlwein, *Et. Pap.* 4 (1938) 33–102, J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 47 (1948) 179 ff.). The responsibility of the decaproti, and earlier (and later) the sitologi, for the quality and quantity of the grain shipped has also been recognized, cf. IV **708** = W. Chr. 432, XLII **3049** B 18 n., SB XII 11082. Yet **3980** appears to be the first example of a directive of this kind from the strategus to the decaproti, although there are examples of the preceding and subsequent steps taken by the state in its transport of different commodities for the *annona militaris* at this time, viz. directives from higher authorities to the strategus to have different cargoes loaded and report back (P. Panop. Beatty 2. 114–116), and reports from the strategus detailing cargoes which had been despatched in response to such orders (P. Panop. Beatty 1. 120–127 = 160–165, L **3573**).

Αὐρήλιος Ἀλ[έ]ξ[ανδρο]ς γεν(όμενος) ὑπομνημ(ατογράφος)  
 στρατηγός (vac.) Ὀξυρυγίτου  
 Αὐρηλί[ο]ς Ἀλεξάνδρω καὶ Στρατονίκω καὶ τοῖς  
 κοινωνοῖς, δεκαπρώτοις μερῶν κάτω το(παρχίας)  
 5 τοῖς φιλτάτοι[ς] (vac.) χαίρειν.

ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς γραφεῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μου  
 διασημοῦ[άτου] καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου Εὐθηθίου  
 ἐμβάλεσθε εἰς πλ[οῖ]ον δημόσιον ᾧ πα-  
 ράσημον Παναγτίνοος ἀγωγῆς (ἀρταβῶν) Βϕ  
 10 ὑπ[ὸ] Ὁ]νωρατια[ν]ὸν ναύκληρον πυροῦ  
 καθαρωτάτου [καὶ] ἐκτὸς πάσης φαυλότητος  
 τυγχάνοντ[ος μέτρῳ] δημοσίῳ μετρήσει  
 τῇ κ[ελευθείσῃ ἀρ]τάβας  
 χιλεί[ας c. 12 letters -κο]ντα ἕξ  
 15 [ c. 13 letters καὶ ὑπέρ] ἑκατ[ο]στῶν  
 [ c. 20 letters ] (ἀρτάβαι) Α λ

1 ἡ γυναικῶν 4 το) 6 ὑπο 9 ο 10 ὑπο 12 1. μετρήσει 14 1. χιλίας  
 16 ο

'Aurelius Alexander(?), ex-hypomnematographus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the Aurelii Alexander and Stratonicus and associates, decaproti of parts of the Lower toparchy, his dearest colleagues, greetings.'

'In accordance with the written instructions given by my lord the most perfect *rationalis* Valerius Euthius, have loaded onto the public boat whose emblem is Panantinous, of 2,500 artabas capacity, under the command of Honoratianus, shipper, one thousand ... hundred and ... -ty-six artabas of purest wheat, free from all badness, by the public measure, according to the prescribed measurement ... (and for) ... per cent ... (total) 1900 artabas ...'

1 Αλ[έ]ξ[ανδρο]ς. Clear remnants of the tail of xi. Otherwise the first doubtful letter might be read as part of mu or pi. Not otherwise attested, Aurelius Alexander(?) must have been the immediate successor in the strategiate to Aurelius Zenagenes (latest date 300: XLVI 3301) and the predecessor of Aurelius Horion (earliest date 24 December 303: P. Wisc. II 61. 3), see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 103-4.

3 These decaproti are not known from elsewhere. Decaproti were drawn from the bouletic class but the only Alexander listed by A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* Appendix 2B, from P. Ryl. IV 691 verso (late third century), is probably not the same man; the name is far from rare. On the other hand, the name Stratonicus is uncommon in the Oxyrhynchite and the Aurelia Stratonice of XLVI 3296 (AD 291) may well be a relation.

4 τοῖς κοινωοῖς, δεκαπρώτοις. 3980 provides another of the few exceptions to the general rule first formulated by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 211, that each toparchy was normally supervised by a college of two decaproti; other exceptions are noted by E. G. Turner, *JEA* 22 (1936) 8 n. 9. As there appears to be no geographical or chronological pattern discernible among them, the present example should not be taken as indicative of the breakdown of the office at this time. Rather, its probable cause is simply the administration's inability to find enough liturgists with a sufficient πῶρος to fill the office on their own, as Turner suggested.

μερῶν κάτω το(παρχίας). The only other example of a decaprotus attached to a part of a toparchy appears to be X 1260 (AD 286). Otherwise only *protostatae* are so designated (SB VI 9502, XLIV 3184). As 3184 also concerns μέρη of the Lower toparchy, the connection between the decaproti and the shortlived office of *protostates* may have been closer than seemed to be the case when the office was discussed by A. K. Bowman, *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 43-51, esp. 49, see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 159-72, esp. 163-4.

7 For the *rationalis* Valerius Euethius see introd.

8 ἐμβάλεθε. Cf. SB XII 11082. 2 (138–161) [τοὺς οὖν τὸν πυρὸν] ἐμβαλομένους *χειτολόγους*. The supervisory role of the decaproti, and before (and after) them, the sitologi, in the loading of grain cargoes is also reflected in the shipping receipts, see XLII 3049 B 18 n. These receipts, issued by the shipper after loading, could be cross-checked against a directive of the present type to minimise the possibility of collusion between strategus and decaproti, cf. P. Panop. Beatty 2. 68–71, or between decaproti and shipper, as seems to be implied in I 62.

παράσημον. For the practice of carving a name-device upon a ship's prow see P. Panop. Beatty 2. 209, L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* 344–60.

9 Παναγτίνοος. The identification of Antinous with Pan is novel, nor is either god listed as a ship's name by L. Casson, op. cit. 439 ff. For other combinations of names of gods with the name Antinous see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 277 s.v. -'νοος'; the majority are Antinoite theophoric personal names, see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* s.vv. In Egypt, Pan was primarily a god of the desert, see A. Bernard, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs* xix–xxi, whereas Antinous was usually identified with gods of vegetation/fertility: Dionysus, Osiris, Bes (see W. Gdz. 121) in Egypt, Vertumnus in Italy, or, most commonly, with Apollo; for the iconography see C. W. Clairmont, *Die Bildnisse des Antinous*. Yet both Pan and Antinous are suitable tutelary deities for a ship, Antinous thanks to his intimate, though unfortunate, connection with the Nile (hence the Egyptian identification of him with Osiris), and Pan as *Eὔοδος*, protector of travellers, see A. Bernard, *Pan du Désert* 276. Both of them, too, share the epithet *σωτήρ*, indicting their protective aspect, and Antinous is also identified with Hermes, another protector of travellers, cf. the Antinoite personal name 'Ερμαντίνοος and the epithet *Ἀργεΐφοντιάδης* in a hexameter poem about Hadrian and Antinoos, VIII 1085 and 9 n.

11 καθαρωτάτου. Cf. P. Cairo Goodspeed 14. 5.

11–12 ἐκτός πάσης φαυλότητος τυγχάνοντ[ος]. The phrase seems to be without parallel; no reference to *φαυλότης* is given by F. Preisigke, *WB and Suppl.*, or S. Daris, *Spoglio Lessicale*. It has occurred with reference to wine in L 3574 8. The normal specification is that the grain should be ἄδολος and ἄβωλος. As *φαυλότης* is used of the 'badness' of either persons or things (*LSJ* s.v.), this phrase is clearly its equivalent and covers both deliberate and accidental adulteration or spoilage of the cargo.

13 This line was left rather short, with the cap of the final sigma prolonged towards the right margin to occupy a space equivalent to the width of six letters in the line above.

14 χιλεί[ας (l. χιλίας) c. 12 letters -κο]ντα ἕξ. Possibilities are seriously limited by the space available. The most likely seems to be χιλεί[ας ἐξακοσίας ἐξήκο]ντα ἕξ followed by a fraction,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ; 14% of this is 233 $\frac{1}{3}$ , to give a total of 1900 as in line 16. Yet although the percentage customarily included to compensate for adulteration or short measure varies considerably, it is perhaps unlikely to be as high as this, see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 17–19, cf. next note.

15 ὑπέρ] ἐκατ[ο]στῶν. Cf. L 3573 11, 15, where the percentage is also unusually high at 12%. The usual form of expression is *κόν* + dative, cf. X 1259, Stud. Pap. XX 32, P. Warren 5, PSI IX 1053.

16 The reading of the figures seems convincing. If they are correct, they must represent the load inclusive of the percentage surcharge. The beginning of the line may well have contained the amount of the percentage, see above 14 n., followed by (γίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὐτό) *vel sim.*, indicating that the figure which followed was the total of the cargo, but there is a real difficulty in finding a satisfactory restoration of lines 14–16 in the right combination of words and figures to satisfy the space.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3981. PETITION

9 1B.185/C(c)

15.5 × 25.5 cm

February/March 312

A petition about persistent harassment over a debt which the complainant claims does not exist. The text lacks the name and title of the addressee, but as the petitioner refers to hearings before the former strategus Hesychnius, who is new, see 7 n., and

alludes to the need to seek satisfaction from a higher authority if the attacks on him continue (20), the document is likely to have been addressed to one of the officials at the level of the nome. Possible candidates at this period are the strategus, the prytanis, or the logistes; the use of the honorific *ἡ σὴ ἐμμέλεια* (17) perhaps favours the last, see 1 n.

There is a sheet-join 3.5 cm from the left hand edge. The overlap between the sheets is just slightly less than this and the upper, left hand sheet has been feathered in by removing the back layer of vertical fibres, beginning about 2.5 cm from its right edge, in order to ensure a smoother overlap, cf. P. Harris II 212 introd. The back is blank.

c. 12 letters ] . . . [ . ] ρ [ . . . . ] ι . . [ . ] . [ . . . . ] . τ ρ υ  
 π]αρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρμάσιος Τιθοῆο[υ]ς ἱερέως  
 κώμης Χενετώριος. Κ. . . ιφικ Ψ[ο]ναῦτος  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης οὐ πα[ύ]εται συ[ . ] γ'-  
 5 πλοκάς κατ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ μετρίου ἐξαργαζομέ-  
 νη. πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ προ[[ς]-  
 στρατηγήσαντος Ἡκυχίου ἤγαγέν μαι  
 ὡσὰν ὑπόχρεον τυγχάνοντα ἀργυρίω(ν)  
 αὐτῆς καὶ καταγνωσθῆσα οὐκ ἀπέσ-  
 10 τη. μάρτυρας γὰρ διαφόρους ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 προστρατηγήσαντος ἀγαγὼν ἀπέδιξα  
 φανερώς μηδέν μαι χρεωστῖν, ἡ δὲ  
 οὐ παυομένη συνσκευάζεσθαι μοι  
 παρ' ἕκαστα ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ κα-  
 15 τὰ πάντα καθαρὸς φένομαι ἀπὸ χρέ-  
 ους ταύτης κατὰ τοῦτο τὰ βιβλία ἐπι-  
 διδούς τῇ σὴ ἐμμελία ἀξιῶ νῦν ὑπὸ <σ>ῦ  
 αὐτὴν κωλύεσθαι ἐπιβένουσάν μοι  
 ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἀν[αν]άγκην προαχθῶ  
 20 τῇ μίζονι ἐξουσία διανοχλῆσαι περὶ τούτου.  
 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
 καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ β'. (m. 2) Φαμενώθ  
 Αὐρηλίος Ἀρμάσιος Θεθοῆος ἐπιδέδωκα.  
 Αὐρηλίος Νεχθερώεις Φθιμούϊτος ἔγραψα  
 25 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.



2 ἱερεως      4-5 l. συμπλοκάς      5-6 l. ἐξεργαζομένη      7 l. με      8 τυγ'χανοντα, αργυριῶ  
 9 l. καταγνωσθείσα      11 l. ἀπέδειξα      12 l. με χρωστέιν      13 l. συσκευάζεσθαι      14 l. ἐπιχειρεί,  
 ἐπεὶ      15 l. φαίνομαι      17 l. ἐμμελεία      18 l. ἐπιβαίνουσαν      19 ἴνα, ἀναναγ'κην: l. ἀνάγκην  
 20 l. μείζονι      23 l. Τιθοῆου

'...from Aurelius Harmasis, son of Tithoēs, priest of the village of Chenctoris. C...iphis, daughter of Pso-naüs, from the same village does not stop working away at her struggles against me, reasonable man that I am. For many times she brought me before the former strategus Hesychnius as though I happened to be in debt to her for monies and although the judgement went against her she did not desist. For having brought different witnesses before the former strategus I demonstrated clearly that I owe nothing, but she incessantly tries to arrange matters against me on each and every occasion and since on all counts I am manifestly free from debt to this woman I submit my petition to your grace and ask now that she be prevented by you from attacking me so that I may not be brought to the necessity of troubling higher authority on this matter.'

'In the 2nd consulship of our masters Constantine and Licinius Augusti, (2nd hand) Phamenoth ...'

'I, Aurelius Harmasis, son of Tithoēs, have submitted the petition. I, Aurelius Nechtheroëis, son of Phthimuis, wrote on his behalf as he does not know letters.'

1 Exiguous traces only. The first three lines are offset slightly to the left but, if the addressee were the strategus, the spacing would still be insufficient to read the name of either of the men who might have been in office in this year: Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, who was strategus on 22 August 311 (XXXIII 2668), or Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, who may have taken over from him in 312 (PSI VIII 886, which mentions Aurelius Ammonius who is first attested as prefect on 17 August 312, see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration* 240), see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 104. However, the honorific ἡ εἰς ἐμμελεία, used in line 17, is never found of the strategus in this period whereas it is not uncommonly found of the logistes, e.g. I 52, 53, 86, X 1265, P. Rein. II 92, and it is remotely possible that the name and title in this line might be readable as Οὐαλερίω "Ἡρωνι τῶ] καὶ [Cα]ρ[απίων]ι λογ[ιστῆ] [Ο]ξ[υρυγχ]ί[τρου]. For his career as logistes see P. Oxy. LIV pp. 223-4. However, this reading is not totally convincing.

2 Τιθοῆου. Cf. 23 and n. This is a theophoric name which is often found of priests. For references to the god Tithoes (or Tothoes) see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* vi 1087-8 s.v. Τοθοῆς, and M. Vandoni, *Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo* 102 (1968) 438-9. For the Egyptian evidence see S. Sauneron, *JNES* 19 (1960) 269-87 and J. Quaegebeur, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* vi 602-6 s.v. Tithoes.

3 Χενετώριος. Listed in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, only as a sixth century ἐποίκιον, when it formed part of the estates of the Apion family (XVI 1912 43 etc.). Other known villages in 1912 had been in the Middle toparchy but the account may have dealt with contiguous areas and we cannot assume that this village had also been in the same toparchy.

5 εὐ[ ] γ'πλοκάς (l. συμπλοκάς). The initial letters have been overwritten. The word is used of the struggles of wrestlers (LSJ s.v. 2), but may be extended to include any type of physical scuffle, as in P. Mich. V 230. 19 (cf. the similar use of ἐμπλοκή, P. Ryl. II 124. 28, 150. 12), or the tricks used to ensnare one's opponent. In the almost contemporary P. Cair. Isid. 75. 4 (AD 316) μηδεμίαν τε συμπλοκή[ν] ἔχων πρός τινας, although translated neutrally by the editors as, 'I am not involved with any persons', may also bear the same meaning of 'quarrel' or 'intrigue'.

7 Ἡσυχίου. Not otherwise known. His tenure of office must fall between that of Aurelius Horion (latest date August 305: XXXVI 2766) and Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus (earliest date 310/11: PSI VIII 886). The name Hesychnius is rare in the Oxyrhynchite, occurring less than a dozen times in the indexes to P. Oxy. The only known official with the name in this period is Aurelius Aelurion alias Hesychnius, agent of decaproti in 290 (PSI V 461) and ex-hypomnematographus, Alexandrian councillor, gymnasiarch, councillor and prytanis of Oxyrhynchus in 297 (XLV 3245 3-5). As strategi were now appointed from within the nome, he might just be the same as our man, or related to him. Other Hesychnii of this period occur in XXXIII 2682 (third/fourth century) and X 1303 (c. 336).

20 τῆ μ(ε)ίζονι ἐξουσία. The reference is more likely to be to the prefect than to another higher municipal official.

22 A small and faint trace of ink on the edge may be part of the number of the day. More probably this is stray ink and the day number was never added.



23 *Θηθοῖου*. This form is not listed in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, although it is obviously a phonetic variant of the common *Τιθοῖς*, see 2.

24 *Νεχθερώεις Φθιμούϊτος*. The names are not attested in these forms although the by-forms *Νεχθεραῦς* and *Φιμούϊς* occur elsewhere, see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3982. RECEIPT FOR PAYMENT

16 2B.45/F(c)

15.5 × 26 cm

5 May 314

Acknowledgement to the strategus by comarchs of the village of Phoboo that they have been reimbursed for the cost of tow provided for the treasury. The text follows the expected pattern; the parallels are collected and discussed most lately in P. Heid. IV 323 introd. Of these XII 1430 (324) also concerns tow, but similar receipts also involve clothing of various kinds, gold and silver, iron, and grain or wheat (*σίτος*).

A sheet join can be seen close to the edge at the bottom right where that edge survives.

At the foot in a third hand, differing from those of the main text and the subscription, is a draft or writing practice (22–23) in the form of an incomplete heading following the same pattern as lines 1–2.

On the back, written along the fibres, is a series of summaries of applications for reimbursement, which are published separately as 3983. The hand in which they are written appears to be the same as the third hand here (22–23). Their date is 7 May 314, just two days later than the present receipt, so that the papyrus was reused almost immediately. This suggests that 3982, although furnished with an authentic subscription (18–21), was a spare copy which soon became available for rough jottings or practice in the office, cf. 3976 introd. The clerk perhaps began to summarise an application for repayment on the foot of this receipt, below the comarch's subscription, before deciding to turn the papyrus over and begin again on another summary, this time of an application from the same comarchs who had submitted 3983. See also 3983 introd.

Ἀύρηλίω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνω στρ(ατηγῶ) [Ῥξ(υρυγίτου)  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ἀρπαήσιος Παταθρήτος ἠ' αἰ Ψ[εναμούϊσιος  
 Ἀματόκου, ἀμφ(οτέρων) κωμαρχῶν κώμης Φοβῶ[ου  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ[ος ἔ]τους. ἀπέσχαμ[ε]ν] κα[ὶ] ἡριθμήμε-  
 5 θα παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀφθονίου, δημοσίω[ν]

χρημάτων τραπαιζ(ίτου), ἐξ ἐπιστάλμα[τος  
 ...].ου...ε[...].τ[.] ἃ ἡγήμεθα ἐπιστ[αλῆναι  
 ἐξ[οδ]ι[α]σθῆναι ἡμῖν] ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ὧν παρέσχ[αμεν  
 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ζτιππίου ἀπὸ λόγου συνων[ῆς  
 10 διὰ Ἀρίστωνος ἐπιμελητοῦ ὥστε εἰς Ἀλεξάν[δρειαν, (ἔτους)  
 κ' κεν(τηναρίων) 5' μνῆ εγ', (ταλ.) 5 (δρ.) φλγ, ὧν (έκατοσταί) 5  
 (ἡμισυ) (γίνονται) [(δρ.) Ἐτοε,  
 τὰ λυπὰ (ταλ.) 6 (δρ.) Ἐρνη, ζ (ἔτους) ", 6 (ἔτους) " ὁμοί(ως)  
 κεν[(τηναρίων) 5  
 μνῆ εγ', (ταλ.) 5 (δρ.) φλγ, ὧν (έκατοσταί) 5 (ἡμισυ) (γίνονται) (δρ.)  
 Ἐτοε, τὰ λ[υπὰ (ταλ.) 6  
 (δρ.) Ἐρνη, ὁμοῦ (ταλ.) [ια (δρ.) Ἐ]τις (vac.) πλήρη. [κυρία  
 15 ἡ ἀποχῆ καὶ ἐπ[ε]ρ[ω]τηθεῖς ὠμολογήσαμ[εν.  
 ὑπατείας Ῥουφίου Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου  
 Ἄννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παχ(ὶων) ι'.  
 (m. 2) Ἀυρήλιοι Ἄρπαῆσις καὶ Ψαναμοῦνις ἡριθμήμε[θα  
 τὸ ἀργύριον πλήρη ὡς πρόκειται. Ἀυρήλιος Ἄγα-  
 20 θος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰ-  
 δότων.  
 (m. 3) Ἀυρηλίω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνω στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου)  
 παρὰ Ἀυρηλίω Θεώνος (vac.)

1 στρ5      2 1. Παθατρῆτος      3 ἀμφ)      6 τραπαιζ": 1. τραπεζίτου      11 κεν'; 1. μναῖ for  
 μνῶν, 5 = (δρ.), ρ = (έκατοσταί), 55 = (ἐξ ἡμισυ); and so throughout      12 1. λοιπά; ὁμοί)      13 1. μναῖ  
 for μνῶν      15 1. ἐπερωτηθέντες      16 ὑπατείας      17 παχ      18 ν of Ψαναμοῦνις remade  
 from μ?      19 1. πρόκειται      22 στρ5οξ'

'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Harpaesis son of Pathatres and Psenamunis son of Amatocus, both comarchs of the village of Phoboou for the present year. We have received and been paid from Aurelius Aphthonius, banker of public moneys, in accordance with the instruction of ... the sums which we requested that instructions be given to be paid to us for the price of what we provided for the treasury in tow on account of the compulsory purchase via Ariston, overseer, for (delivery to) Alexandria: for the 20th year 6 hundredweights,  $5\frac{1}{3}$  minas, 6 talents 533 drachmas, of which  $6\frac{1}{2}\%$  is 2375 drachmas, remainder 5 talents 4158 drachmas; for year 7 and 5 likewise 6 hundredweights  $5\frac{1}{3}$  minas, 6 talents 533 drachmas, of which  $6\frac{1}{2}\%$  is 2375 drachmas, remainder 5 talents 4158 drachmas, all together 11 talents 2316 drachmas in full. The receipt is valid and having been formally questioned we have assented. In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, *viri clarissimi*, Pachon 10.'

(2nd hand) 'We, the Aurelii Harpaesis and Psenamunis (*sic*), have had the money paid in full as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Agathus, wrote on their behalf as they do not know letters.'

(3rd hand) 'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Theon ...' (vac.)

1 *Ἀὐρηλίω Σαραπίωνι τῶ καὶ Σερήνω*. Known as strategus from PSI VIII 886 (311/2 or later) and SB XVI 12705 (314), see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 104.

2-3 *Ἀὐρηλίων Ἄρπαήσιος Παταθρήτος ἕκ' αὖ Ψ[εναμούσιος] Ἀματόκων*. These comarchs appear again as the applicants in the first of the requests for payment copied on the back, see **3983**, where the names are written correctly as *Παθαθρήτος* instead of *Παταθρήτος* and *Ψεναμούσιος*, from *Ψεναμούσις*, the more normal form, instead of *Ψαναμούσις*, as here in the subscription (18).

3 *Φοβῶ[ου]*. Situated earlier in the Eastern toparchy, and by this date in the fifth *pagus*, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 214-16.

7 . . . ] . οὐ . . . ε[ . ] . . τ[ . ] . . The parallels read simply *ἐξ ἐπιστάλαματός σου*. A possibility might be *τοῦ πρὸ σου στρατηγοῦ*, but I cannot read it; the name of the predecessor of Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus as strategus, Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, is excluded by virtue of its length. In three of the parallels, BGU II 620 = *W. Chr.* 186, SB I 4421, CPR V 6, reference is also made to the *procurator* ultimately responsible for the purchase and its reimbursement, but a similar phrase is again excluded here by reason of its length.

9 *ζηπιπίου*: *στ* broken but sure. According to P. Giessen 103. 11 n. this is the more correct form. For the production of tow see the references given in P. Herm. Rees 22. 14 n., XLV **3254-62** introd., P. Köln III 151 introd., and P. Mich. XIV 680. 3 n.

10-11 (*ἔτους*) ] *κ'* = 311/12, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 36.

11 *κεν(τηναρίων) 5 μῦξ ἐγ''*. For the reading see line 13. As the price was the same in two consecutive years, it seems safe to assume that the quantity provided was also the same. A *centenarium* was equivalent to just less than 35 kg., see A. Segrè, *Metrologia* 47-51, and was divided into 60 minas, as here, or 100 *librae*. In the Price Edict of Diocletian (§26. 1-3, ed. M. Giacchero) the price of the three different grades of tow is set at 24, 20 and 16 *denarii a libra*, i.e. 9600, 8000 and 6400 drachmas a *centenarium*. The present price, which works out at exactly 1 talent per *centenarium*, therefore represents a considerable discount in the government's favour, over and above the deduction of 6½%, which is normal in transactions of this type, see below. For other prices of tow known from this period see LIV p. 235.

*ὄν (έκατοσταί) 5 (ἡμις)*, cf. 13. A discount of 6½% is regularly applied by the state in these transactions, see XLIV **3194** 10 n., H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 69-76 = *Scriptiunculae* i 265-72, and full discussion by R. Rémondon, *Rev. Phil.* 32 (1958) 244-60.

12 *ζ (ἔτους)''*, *ε (ἔτους)''* = 312/3, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 37.

22-3 On the relationship of this hand to the applications for repayment written on the back see introd. and **3983** introd.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3983. REQUESTS FOR PAYMENT

16 2B.45/F(c)

26 × 15.5 cm

7 May 314

Summary copies of several applications to the strategus from comarchs in villages of the fifth *pagus*, asking for reimbursement of the cost of commodities provided for the treasury. The applications are written along the fibres on the back of **3982**, in which the comarchs Aurelii Harpaesis and Psenamunis, who also appear here in line 3, acknowledge reimbursement of a similar claim. Parallel applications are XLIV **3194** (323) and P. Ryl. IV 660 (338); similar in form are applications for reimbursement from municipal funds, such as I **55** (283), VIII **1104** (306) and XLIV **3193** (308?).

The present examples appear to be drafts or mere writing practice, done probably in the office of the strategus, where the receipt on the front would have been lodged. The same writer wrote two lines in the lower margin of the document on the other

side, 3982 22–3. Another hand, very rapid and spindly, using abbreviations freely, has added a note in a lighter coloured ink in the left hand margin opposite lines 9–17.

ὑπατείας Ῥουφίου Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου Ἄννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παχῶν ιβ.  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ στρατηγῷ Ὀξ(υρυγίτου)  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἄρπαήσιος Παθατρήτος καὶ Ψεναμόνιος Ἀματόκου, ἀμφοτέρων  
 κωμαρχῶν, τῶν πάντων ἀπὸ {κω} α( ) κώμης, συνωνῆς εἰς λόγον θει< > χ̄  
 5 [ ]  
 Α[ὑρη]λίῳ [Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ] στρατηγῷ Ὀξ<υρυγί>του παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ  
 (vac.) παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Πεκύσιος Πεκύσιος . . . . . η . . ηδος  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Ψεντασέως Ματρέου [καὶ] Ἀτρέως Πανοτβέως ἀμφοτέρων {κ}  
 κωμαρχῶν κώμης Ποσομπῶς ε' πάγου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους. αἰτούμεθα ἐπισταλῆναι  
 10 ἐξοδιασθῆναι ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς οὐ παρέσχαμεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον στιπίου ἀπὸ λόγου  
 συνωνῆς. Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Σερήνῳ στρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυγίτου.  
 ὑπατείας Ῥουφίου Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου Ἄννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παχῶν ιβ.  
 ἀμφοτέρων κώμης Ποσομπῶς ε' πάγου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους. ἐτούμεθα ἐπισταλῆναι ἐξοδια-  
 15 θῆναι ἡμῖν ὑ(πὲρ) <τι>μῆς οὐ παρέσχαμεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπὸ λόγου συν<ωνῆς> χωρισαν . . ε . [ ]  
 (vac.) δημόσιον τ . . . τιμῆς παρέσ[χαμεν  
 ὑπατείας Ῥουφίου] Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Π[ετρ]ωνίου Ἄννιανοῦ] τῶν λαμπροτάτων  
 (vac.?) ] Φαμενὼθ λ'' . . . [ c. 10 letters ] (vac.) ἡγανάκτι (vac.)  
 c. 50 letters ] κ[ω]μαρχῶν κώ-

Upwards in the left hand margin opposite 9–17:

(m. 2) ] . . λιος ἀπὸ κ(ώμης) Ποσο(μπῶς).

2 οξ' 4 αποκςακωμης: 1. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης; θεισχ- 6 οξ' του 8 1. ἀμφοτέρων  
 10 1. ἡμῖν 11 οξυρυγίτου 13 1. αἰτούμεθα 14 1. ἡμῖν, υ', συν 17 ηγανάκτι: η corr.  
 (from a?), 1. ἡγανάκτει? 19 κςποσο

'In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, *uirī clarissimi*, Pachon 12.'

'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from the Aurelii Harpaesis son of Pathatres and Psenamunis son of Amatocus, both comarchs, all from (the same?) village, compulsory purchase to the account of the . . .'

'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Pecysis son of Pecysis and . . . From the Aurelii Psentaseus son of Matreas and Hatreus son of Panotheus, both comarchs of the village of Posompöys, in the fifth *pagus*, for the present year. We request that instructions be given for payment to be made to us for the price of tow, which we provided for the treasury, on account of compulsory purchase.'

'To Aurelius Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, *uirī clarissimi*, Pachon 12. Both of the village of Posompöys, in the fifth *pagus*, for the present year. We request that instructions be given for payment to be made to us for the price of . . . which we provided for the treasury, on account of compulsory purchase, without (?) . . . the treasury (?) . . . the price . . . we provided. . .'



'In the consulate of Rufius Volusianus and Petronius Annianus, *uiri clarissimi* ...'  
Margin. '...ius from the village of Posompöys.'

2, 6, 11 For the strategus see **3982** 1 n.

3 *Αὐρηλίων Ἀρπαήσιος Παθατρῆτος καὶ Ψεναμοῦνιος Ἀματόκου*. The same comarchs are the applicants in the receipt for repayment which occupies the front of this papyrus, see **3982** 3 n.; in line 2 there *Παθαθρῆτος* is written instead of *Παθατρῆτος*, and in line 18 *Ψεναμοῦνιος* instead of *Ψεναμοῦνιος*.

4 This line is particularly disjointed. The writer was perhaps thinking of ἀπὸ τῆς α(ὕτης) κώμης as well as ἀπὸ κώμης followed by the village name; *συωνῆς* has lost its context, for which see **3982** 9; *θει* has no counterpart elsewhere in the document, but may suggest *εἰς λόγον θείας διατυπώσεως*, cf. P. Sakaon 85. 3-4;  $\chi$  is fairly well separated and perhaps represents  $\chi$ (αίρειν).

5 The upper layer of fibres is stripped from across the entire width of the papyrus. There is room for one, possibly even two lines of writing, to include details of the first claim, but much of the space may have been taken up with the date clause for the second request for payment which begins in line 6.

6 *Ὁξ(υρνηχίτου)*. Or *Ὁξ(υρνηχίτου) {του}*.

11 It is clear that another application must begin after *συωνῆς* and although there is no change of line, or even a gap left, the initial alpha of *Αὐρηλίω* is written larger than usual.

12-13 The names of the comarchs may have been omitted by error or because they had already been written out in full above in line 8. If the former, the marginal note opposite these lines might be taken as an attempt to correct this slip, but I cannot read it as such.

14-15 ἀπὸ λόγου συν(ωνῆς) χωρισαν. .ε. [, (15) δημόσιον. The analogy of XII **1430** 12-13, <ὕ>πὲρ τιμῆν ἄντρακος χωρ(οῦντος) εἰς τὸ δημόσιον πανίδιον, suggests that the lines may have run ἀπὸ λόγου συν(ωνῆς) χωρίσαν(τος) εἰ[ς τὸ] δημόσιον: l. χωρήσαντος, but in view of the lack of any clear mark of abbreviation after *συν* this must remain only a suggestion.

16-17 If the date is to be read consecutively, supposing that the beginning of 17 was left blank, it is equivalent to 26 March 314. It was evidently written after that date, see 1, 12, and **3982** 16-17.

18 ἡγανάκτι (l. ἡγανάκτει, 'he was angry?'). This seems completely strange to the context. Eta has an loop near the top left, which might be the beginning of an alpha (for ἀγανακ-) soon converted into the eta. The dotted alpha is on a small scale for this hand and rather open, but it can be paralleled often in *καί* and in the -αι of *ἐπισταλῆναι* (13).

19 This may have been a full line following the pattern of 8-9, possibly omitting *ἀμφοτέρων* or with shorter names for the comarchs.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

### 3984. ADDRESS TO A STRATEGUS

8 1B.190/D(2)c

8.5 × 4 cm

340

The main interest of this fragment is that it attests as strategus a man who was previously known only from later stages of his career, see LIV p. 229, G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 105. Aurelius Dionysarius, addressed here as strategus, is attested as logistes in AD 342 with the status designation Flavius (I **87**, P. Harris I 65); for the grant of the imperial *nomen* to holders of this office see XLVI **3306** 1 n., **3308-11** introd., and especially J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 245-50. Then in 346 he appears again as *riparius* along with another ex-logistes Flavius Eulogius (VI **897**).

On the back, in another hand, is a name with a note of a sum of money against it.

ὑπατείας Σεπτιμίου Ἀκινδύνου τ[οῦ λαμ(προτάτου)  
 ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Ποπολυ[λωνίου  
 Πρόκλου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου). (vac.) [  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Διονυσαρίῳ στρατηγῶ [᾽Οξυρυγίτου  
 5 πα]ρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἄτρῃ ἀπὸ κώ[μης Σαραπί-  
 ω]νος Χαιρήμωνος καὶ Ὡρο[υ

Back, across fibres upside down in relation to the writing on the front:

|| Πανσόφιον θυ(γάτηρ) Διοσκόρ(ου) (τάλαντα). [

3 λαμϚ 6 l. Χαιρήμωνος 7 θῡδιοσκορ̄

'In the consulate of Septimius Acindynus, *uir clarissimus*, prefect of the sacred *praetorium*, and of Populonium Proculus, *uir clarissimus*.'

'To Aurelius Dionysarius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Hatres from the village of Sarapion son of Chaeremon and Horus(?) ...'

Back. (2nd hand) 'Pansophium daughter of Dioscorus: ... talent(s)?'.

1 To judge from the spacing λαμπροτάτου was abbreviated, as in line 3.

1-3 For the consulship see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 214-15.

4 Αὐρηλίῳ Διονυσαρίῳ στρατηγῶ. Not otherwise known as strategus; for his other offices see introd. His latest firmly dated predecessor as strategus is presently Aurelius Ptolemaeus in office at some point in 332 (XII 1426, XLII 3127). His earliest known successor is Claudius Heraclius, who appears as strategus on 1 March 342 in I 87 ii 3; col. i-ii of this text remain unpublished but the reading has been confirmed by Dr R. A. Coles from the original.

5 Ἄτρῃ. For the short form of the genitive see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 73.

5-6 κώ[μης Σαραπίω]νος Χαιρήμωνος (l.-μονος). A small village formerly in the Eastern toparchy, found here for the first time as a κώμη, being designated an ἐποίκιον still in PSI V 449 (312), see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* s.v. However, the terms had by then become virtually interchangeable in usage, see Pruneti, *op. cit.* 10-11.

7 The oblique strokes, which rise from below, are rather like those which occur in accounts as check marks, although these penetrate the initial pi more strongly than those generally do. Below this line there is a depth of more than 2 cm of blank papyrus without sign of further entries. Nevertheless it may be that this entry did form part of some account.

Πανσόφιον. This woman's name, though of a normal type, is new. Pansophius seems to have occurred in SB III 7243 (=VIII 9746). 21 (νύμφη Πανσοφίου), 30, although the letter is so illiterate that it is not perfectly certain that the person is not a woman. It is assigned to the beginning of the fourth century. The significant event in the lives of Pansophia and her young son Pansophius, listed in A. H. M. Jones etc., *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i 665, took place in 393/4. The *comes* Pansophius listed *ibid.* ii 829 is dated to 449. A Πάνσοφος is attested in a Byzantine inscription from Crete, P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* i s.v. Our text seems to give the earliest firmly dated name of this group.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

3985. NOMINATION OF A *NOMICARIUS*

65 6B.36/A(1)a

33 × 24 cm

9 May 473

The document is complete on three sides but torn horizontally below line 17. The beginnings of lines 1–9 are badly abraded. The first hand resembles that of XVI **1878** (AD 461). Two vertical kolleseis (8. 5 K<sup>1</sup> 16. 5 K<sup>2</sup> 7. 5).

The councillors (τὸ κοινόν) of the villagers of Takona notify Anuphius, through his father Theodorus, that they have nominated him *nomicarius* for the next two years. For his services they will pay him a salary (λόγω μισθῶν) of 26 solidi 'in addition to the so-called subvention' (ἐπικουρία, see 11 n.). His duties will include paying the villagers' share of the taxes (δημόσια). His father, Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, is also a *nomicarius* (4); he occurs again, in the same capacity, in AD 494 (**3986**) and in 498 (XIX **2237** 5). The present text, as well as I **154** = XVI **2024** where two *nomicarii* are mentioned, suggests that in the fifth and sixth centuries there were at least two acting *nomicarii*.

Anuphius is obviously still a minor; the fact that he is nominated to serve (apparently) with his father seems to indicate that it had become very difficult to find suitable candidates for this office.

The office of *nomicarius* is first attested in AD 298: P. Panop. Beatty 1. 252–5 and 385–8 are letters addressed to Φιλοξένω νομικαρίῳ. The first of these informs him that two boats have been ordered by the *praeses* of the Thebaid for the postal service (see also **154** = **2024** 10), one of which is to be provided by the nome (ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ), and Philoxenus is to 'make provision for all these matters'; the other letter orders him, on behalf of the same *praeses*, to provide hides for a military fort, ὅπως τοῦ διμοίρου μέρους τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος τ[ῶ] νομῶ τὸν μερισμὸν ποιήσας φανερόν καταστήσ[ης], i.e., the *nomicarius* is responsible for the two-thirds share due from the nome (the remaining third being due from the metropolis). The apportionment (μερισμός) of this contribution to the villages of the nome is one of the responsibilities of the *nomicarius*. Mr T. C. Skeat had already concluded from this text that the *nomicarius* had nothing to do with νόμος, but 'exercised some special accounting duties in relation to the nome as distinct from the metropolis' (P. Panop. Beatty 1. 252 n.). His interpretation is confirmed by the present text, which states also that his duties (ἀνήκοντα, 12) included payment of the taxes on behalf of the villagers. These seem to be included in the salary of 26 solidi for each of the two years, which would otherwise be an exorbitant sum.

Compare also LV **3788** 2 n.

+ μ[ετ]ὰ τὴν ὑπατ[ε]ί[α]ν Φλαο[υ]ῦ Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) καὶ τοῦ δηλωθ(ησομένου), Παχῶν ιδ, ἰνδι[κ(τίονος)] ια ἀρχ(ῆ) ιβ, ἐν Ὁξυρύχ(ων πόλει).

τὸ [κ]οιν[ὸ]ν τῶν [ἀπ]ὸ κώμης Τακόνα τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου νομοῦ δι' ἡμῶν  
 Ἰωάννου [Πα]τβῶς καὶ Νιλᾶ Cερήνου  
 [ἀνα]δεχομένω[ν] καὶ τὴν γνώμην τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοκομητ[ῶν] Αὐρηλίω  
 Ἄνουφ[ί]ω υἱῷ Θεοδώρου διὰ σοῦ τοῦ  
 [πατρὸ]ς αὐτοῦ Θ[εοδώ]ρου υἱ[ο]ῦ [Μεγάλου τοῦ καὶ Διδύμου ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Ὁξ[υρυγχ]ιτῶν νομι[κ(αρίου)] χαίρειν. [τ]οῦ κύκλου  
 5 [ . . ]εξ[ . . ]τος ὥστε ἡμᾶς τὸν νομικ[άριον ὄνο]μάσαι κατὰ τῆ[ν  
 ἐ]πιβάλλουσαν τ[ῆ] ἡ[μέτε]ρα κώμη ἀναλογίαν  
 [ύ]φ' ἔν γ[εν]άμενοι καὶ μιᾶς γ[ν]ώμης κρ[α]τήσαντες ὠνομάσαμεν σε  
 τὸν προγεγραμμένον Ἄνούφιον διὰ τοῦ  
 σοῦ πατρὸς Θεοδώρου ἐπὶ τῆς δωδεκάτης καὶ τρισκαιδεκάτης τῶν  
 ἐπινεμήσεων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ  
 νομ[ικα]ρίου χώραν καὶ φροντίδα ἐπὶ τῷ σὲ παραμῖναι καὶ ὑπακοῦσαι  
 εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ νομικαρίου φρόντισμα καὶ  
 μηδα[μῶ]ς ἀπολιφθῆναι, καὶ συνεφωνήθη καὶ ἔδοξεν ὥστε ἡμᾶς καθ'  
 ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, ὡς εἴρηται,  
 10 ὑπὲρ τ[ῆ]ς δωδεκάτης καὶ τρισκαιδεκάτης τῶν ἰνδικτιόνων παρασχεῖν  
 σοι λόγῳ μισθῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς καλου-  
 μένης ἐπικουρίας χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια εἰκοσιᾶς πρὸς τὴν σὲ μέντοι τοῖς  
 δημοσίοις ἀποκρίναςθαι καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν  
 τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῷ νομικ[α]ρίῳ ποιῆσαι καὶ πάσαν ἀπόκρησιν παρασχεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον  
 ἡμῖν μέρος καὶ μηδαμῶς ἀπολιφθῆναι. καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλιαν σὴν ταύτην  
 σοι πεποιήμεθα τὴν  
 ὀνομασίαν ἣτις κυρία οὔσα ἀπλή ἐγράφη, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες  
 ὠμολογήσαμεν. (m. 2) + Αὐρήλιοι Ἰωάννης  
 15 Πατβῶς καὶ Νειλᾶς Cερήνου οἱ προγεγραμμένοι ἀναδεχόμενοι καὶ  
 τῆ[ν] γνώμη[ν] τ[ῶν] ἄλλων ὁμοκομητῶν  
 πεποιήμεθα τὴν ὀνομασίαν τοῦ νομικαρίου καὶ συμφωνεῖ ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ  
 ἐγγεγραμμένα  
 ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Γερμανὸς Ἰωάννου ἀξιωθὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ  
 αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδόντων.



Back, downwards along the fibres:

+ ὄνομ(ακία) τοῦ νομικ(αρίου) τῶν ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Τακόνα.

1 λαμπρ<sup>ο</sup> |, δηλω<sup>θ</sup>, αρχ<sup>ς</sup>, οξυρρυχ<sup>ς</sup>      2 ἰωαννου; 1. Πατβῶτος      3 1. ὁμοκομητῶν      8 1. παραμεῖναι  
9 1. ἀπολειφθῆναι      10 ἰνδικτιονων; 1. ἰνδικτιῶνων      11 1. πρὸς τὸ      12 1. ἀπόκρισιν  
13 1. ἀπολειφθῆναι, ἀσφάλειαν      14 ἰωαννη      15 1. Πατβῶτος      17 1. πρόκειται, ἀξιωθεῖς  
18 ονομ<sup>ς</sup>? , νομικ |, κωμ<sup>ς</sup>

'After the consulship of Flavius Marcianus, *uir clarissimus*, and of the consul to be designated, Pachon 14, 11th indiction year, beginning of the 12th (*epinemesis*), at Oxyrhynchus.'

'The council of the inhabitants of Takona in the Oxyrhynchite nome, through us, Johannes son of Patbos and Nilas son of Serenus, who guarantee also the opinion of their other fellow villagers, to Aurelius Anuphius son of Theodorus, through you, his father Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, *nomiciarius*, greetings. As the cycle (has come?) for us to nominate the *nomiciarius* according to the proportionate share falling to our village, we have, after coming to terms (?) and reaching agreement, nominated you the afore-mentioned Anuphius, through your father Theodorus, for the twelfth and thirteenth *epinemeses* for the same position and duty of *nomiciarius* on condition that you stay and fulfil the duty of *nomiciarius* without falling short in any way; and it has been agreed and decided that we shall pay you in each year for the twelfth and thirteenth indictions as salary, in addition to the so-called subvention, twenty-six gold solidi, in order that you pay the taxes and do all that a *nomiciarius* has to do and carry out all payment for us according to the share that falls to us, without falling short in any way; and for your security we have issued this nomination to you, which is valid and has been written in one copy, and in answer to the formal question we have given our assent.'

(2nd hand) 'We, the Aurelii Johannes son of Patbos and Nilas son of Serenus, the afore-mentioned, who guarantee (represent?) also the opinion of our other fellow villagers, have made the nomination of the *nomiciarius* and agree to all the terms set out above, as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Germanus son of Johannes, have written on request for them as they are illiterate.'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Nomination of the *nomiciarius* of the people from the village of Takona.'

1 This is the first papyrus document certainly dated in 473, the year of the fifth consulship of the western emperor Leo I. It is, however, dated *post consulatum Fl. Marciani*, after the consulship of the eastern consul of 472; the consul of the West, Flavius Festus, the last consul appointed by a western emperor, was not recognized in the East. For Flavius Marcianus see *PLRE* II 717-8.

It has been argued in R. S. Bagnall etc., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 683, cf. 481, that P. Lond. III 869 descr., published by G. Parássoglou in *Mneme G. Petropoulos* ii 203-6, should be restored with the form exemplified here and dated to 14 September 473.

ἀρχ(ῆ) ἰβ. The formula 'indiction x, ἀρχῆ of x + 1' appears to be peculiar to Oxyrhynchus, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 20 ff., who state (p. 26), 'where this phrase occurs and the second number is not followed by any word for indiction, the date is after 1 July. From this we think it safe to conclude that such double indictional dates refer to the date of the *delegatio*, the Egyptian indiction properly speaking, and that the double date thus joins the Thoth and July reckonings'. The present text shows, however, that the second part of the formula (ἀρχῆ of x + 1) must refer to the Pachon indiction, i.e. to the *praedelegatio*, as ἐπινέμησις does in I 140 11 and XVI 1966 10.

3 [ἀνα]δεχομένω[ν] καὶ τὴν γνώμην: they 'guarantee' the opinion or decision of their fellow villagers, i.e. they guarantee that the other villagers support their decision. Cf. PSI I 43. 2, XII 1239. 3 (both fifth century), BGU XII 2180. 3, P. München I 14. 11, 100 (both sixth century).

4 Aurelius Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus, is again attested as *nomiciarius* at Oxyrhynchus in 494 (3986) and in 498 (XIX 2237), possibly also in P. Iand. 45. 1 (fifth/sixth century).

4-5 Probably [ἐν]εξ[τῶ]τος rather than [π]εξ[όν]τος. Whatever the verb may have been, κύκλου suggests a system of rotation under which the villages took it in turns to nominate a *nomiciarius*. For a similar system of rotation which operated among the tribes of Oxyrhynchus at the beginning of the third century see the introduction to XLIII 3095.

6 [ύ]φ' ἐν γ[εν]άμενοι, cf. 3987 9.

11 ἐπικουρία normally means 'support', as in P. Abinn. 63. 42, SB IV 7438. 7 and XXXI 2611 22, but seems to be a special levy in P. Cair. Isid. 11. 27 (AD 312).

H. MAEHLER

### 3986. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT BETWEEN OFFICIALS

65 6B.34/J(1-2)a

9.8 × 15 cm

8 March 494

The papyrus is complete on three sides but torn off at the bottom. It has a vertical kollesis at c. 2 cm from the right hand margin. The back is blank.

The heading, consisting of a date by post-consulship, month and day, and indiction, followed by the place of issue, ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει, is clearly that of an ordinary contract, but the parties hold interesting official positions. Two officers (*primicerii*) of the *quaestionarii* on the staff of the *praeses* of the province of Arcadia address Theodorus, the *nomicarius* of the Oxyrhynchite nome known from 3985 (AD 473) and XIX 2237 (AD 498). The document breaks off even before this prescript is finished. The two *primicerii* may be on the *praeses*' staff at Heracleopolis, like the *princeps* in P. Mich. XI 613 (AD 415) and the *exceptor* in CPR XIV 12 (AD 450); even though Oxyrhynchus was the metropolis of Arcadia (see LI 3636 2 n.), the *praeses* stayed at Heracleopolis, at least temporarily, in the exercise of his office, see XVI 1878 as revised in LI p. 48. The praesidial lodging, τοῦ ἀρχοντικοῦ καταγωγίου, at Heracleopolis is specifically mentioned in SB VI 9152. 9 (AD 492) and is alluded to in CPR V 17. 8, see the note there on τὴν ἀρχοντικὴν πλαγίαν. This praesidial lodging is analogous to the earlier *palatia* and *praetoria* to be found probably in all the main cities of Egypt and specifically attested for Antinoopolis, Arsinoe, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Panopolis, see A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics* 177-8, and Memphis, see LV 3788 4.

*Quaestionarii* are attested in the *officia* of provincial governors, see most conveniently Ramsay MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian* 66-7. Those previously attested at Oxyrhynchus were probably from the staff of the *praeses Arcadiae*, like the present ones, see SB I 2253. 5, τοῖς κεκκωναρίοις (Byzantine), and XVI 2050 2, κεκκωνάρ(ιοι) (sixth century), both in lists of supplies or entitlements to allowances in kind. The Hermopolite landholder described a *κεκκωναρίου* in P. Herm. Landl. G 147 (p. 32), F 366 (p. 75) (mid fourth century), is most likely to have been on the staff of the *praeses Thebaidos*. For the function of *quaestionarii* as judicial torturers see 9-10 n. In the present text *primicerii quaestionariorum* appear for the first time; they would have been the highest ranking members of their section (*schola*).

χμγ  
 + μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν  
 Φλαουῖου Εὐσεβίου τοῦ  
 λαμπροτάτου τὸ β', Φαμενὸς ἠ' θ' ιβ'  
 5 β' ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει.  
 Φλάουιοι Cερῆνος υἱὸς  
 Ἄνουβίωνος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος  
 υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Ἑρακλεοπολιτῶν πριμικύριοι  
 10 τῶν κνεσσιωναρίων τάξεως  
 ἡγεμονίας ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας  
 ἐνδημοῦντες ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ  
 καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει  
 Αὐρηλίῳ Θεοδώρῳ [υἱῷ τ]οῦ [τ]ῆς  
 15 εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης Μ[εγάλου τοῦ  
 καὶ Διδύ[μο]ν νομικ[αρίῳ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς Ὁξυρυγ]χιτῶν [πόλεως

5 ἰνδικ''

9 l. πριμικήριοι

10 l. κωναιστιωναρίων

'After the 2nd consulship of Flavius Eusebius, *uir clarissimus*, Phamenoth 12, 2nd indiction, at Oxyrhynchus.'

'The Flavii Serenus son of Anubion and Ptolemaeus son of Phoebammon, from Heracleopolis, *primicerii* of the *quaestionarii* of the praesidial office of the province of Arcadia, who are staying here in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Aurelius Theodorus son of Megas also called Didymus of discreet memory, *nomiciarius*, from Oxyrhynchus ...'

1 χμγ. Cf. 4008 1 n.

2-3 See R. S. Bagnall, etc., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 523, cf. 513, 525, 527.

9-10 πριμικήριοι τῶν κνεσσιωναρίων (l. πριμικήριοι τῶν κωναιστιωναρίων). The iotacism in *primicerii* is of a not uncommon type, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 264-5; the transliteration of *quaestionarius* seems to have given trouble, since the expected *κωναιστιωνάριος* has not yet appeared. Instead *qu* is represented by *κν* here as in XVI 2050 2 *κνεσσιωνάρ(ιοι)* and in P. Herm. Landl. G 147 (p. 32), F 366 (p. 75) *κνεσσιωναρίου*, while *u* is omitted in SB I 2253, 5 *κεσσιωνάριος*, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 225-6, esp. §5(f), *ae* is represented by *ε*, cf. *ibid.* 192-3; *st* is reduced to *cc*, a phenomenon which is not uncommon, cf. P. Petaus 10. 6 n.; here *i* is retained correctly as *iota*, but in the other places it is lost, as frequently before a back vowel, cf. *ibid.* 304.

The *primicerii* of the *quaestionarii* have not occurred before, but perhaps that is not surprising when the *quaestionarii* themselves are so rare; they were presumably at the top of their section of the praesidial staff, cf. XVI 1901 80 πριμικήριος *σχολῆς πραικόνων*, P. Mert. II 95. 3 π. τῶν *κυγγουλαρίων*, P. Mich. XIV 683. 1, 3, 4 π. τῶν *ἐξεκπετόρων*. It seems more surprising that they are in the plural; usually a *primicerius* in the head of his section or of the whole *officium*, see e.g. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 599.

Not very much is known about *quaestionarii*: they are attested as members of the *officia* of provincial governors, see Ramsay MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian* 66-7, and as *principales* in the legions, see D. J. Breeze,

*Bonner Jahrbücher* 174 (1974) 275, R. Cagnat in C. Daremberg, G. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* IV i 797. Cagnat is reluctant to call them simply torturers, but this was at least a popular perception, cf. G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II 256. 11 *questionarius βακάνων ὑπηρέτης*, II 591. 6 *qu. plagarius, flagellator, plagitor* (l. *plagator?*), V 623. 54 *qu. qu(a)esitor qui praeest praeficiendis* (l. *perfic-*) *qu(a)estionibus*, cf. V 326. 46 *qu(a)estioni: inquisitioni cum tormentis*; more vivid is the bilingual text with an account of a schoolboy's day followed by another of business in the forum, see A. C. Dionisotti, *JRS* 72 (1982) 105 '... *conscendit iudex tribunal et sic uoce praeconis iubet sisti personas. reus sistitur, latro interrogatur, secundum merita torquetur, quaestionarius pulsat ei pectus, uexatur, suspenditur † crescit † flagellatur, fustibus uapulat, pertransit ordinem tormentorum, et adhuc negat. puniendus est, perit poena, ducitur ad gladium*'. The Greek for *quaestionarius* here is *βαζανηστής*, a version of *βακανιστής*. The original text probably goes back to the fourth century, see *ibid.* pp. 123–5. Note too H. Delehay, *Les Martyrs d' Egypte* 191 (ch. 14) *ἀρπαγεία δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κνεστιοναρίων ἀνηρτήθη καὶ ἐξέετο*. These torturers were attributed by the author of the martyrdom to the staff of Satrius Arrianus, *praeses* of the Thebaid c. AD 305–7.

12–13 *τῆ λαμπρᾶ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ*. This title of Oxyrhynchus disappears, as D. Hagedorn has shown, *ZPE* 12 (1973) 285–6, with note 31, rather abruptly at the beginning of the sixth century, the latest attestations being in XVI 1960 5 (AD 511) and P. Lond. V 1797 (AD 516?).

14–16 For Theodorus see *introd.*

14–15 [τ]ῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης. This phrase is typical of church officials, cf. LVIII 3958 12–13 n.

16 *γομικ[αρίω]*. On the duties of this official see the introduction to 3985.

H. MAEHLER

### 3987. NOMINATION OF A *PROTODEMOTES*

65 6B.36/H(1–2)a

35 × 14.5 cm

21 March 532(?)

The upper left-hand corner and the lower part of the sheet have been torn off; the remainder is well preserved with parts of the left, upper and right margins. There are two vertical *kolleses* (6. 8 K<sup>1</sup> 18. 3 K<sup>2</sup> 9. 8). The hand is a small upright cursive comparable with the first hand of 1130 (New Palaeographical Society, Ser. II, pl. 3, R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* i No. 53). On the verso is a docket in two lines along the fibres in a similar but larger script.

The representatives of the guild of *λευκανταί*, in response to a request by the *praeses*, nominate one of their number to serve as *πρωτοδημότης* for the coming indiction year. A *λευκαντής* is a bleacher of linen, see H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 63–8, cf. LIV 3743, 3752; in Modern Greek the word refers to textile workers who bleach cloth or wool, see Dimitrakos, *Mega Lexikon* s.v. That they formed a guild was already known from P. Merton II 95, where a *πρωτοδημότης* addresses the secretaries of their guild, called an *ἐργασία*: on the term *ἐργασία* see R. S. Bagnall in P. Rainer Cent. p. 423, n. 6, who says that from the fifth century *ἐργασία* largely supersedes *κοινόν*. In our text, however, *κοινόν* (2) denotes the guild, *ἐργασία* (7) the occupation. What the *πρωτοδημότης* is or does is unfortunately not clear, see 7 n.

The loss of the beginnings of the first five lines has made it impossible for us to know to whom the present text was addressed, i.e., whom the representatives of the



guild notified of the nomination, see 2 n. The representatives may have been the secretaries (*κεφαλαιωταί*) of the guild; in 14 the subscription of only one of them survives, Aurelius Isak; the rest has broken off.

- + ὑπατείας Φλαουῶν Ὀρέστου καὶ Ἀβιηνοῦ τῶν λα]μπροτάτων,  
 Φαμενῶθ κῆ, ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ι, ἐν Ὀξυρύχ(ων) πόλει.  
 35-40 letters ταύ]της τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως  
 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ  
 τῶν λευκαντῶν τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλεω]ς δι' ἡμῶν τῶν  
 παρόντων καὶ ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων  
 c. 20 letters ἀναδεχομένων καὶ τοὺς] ἡμῶν ὁμοέργους  
 ἐμμένοντας σὺν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξῆς ὑποτετα-  
 5 γμέ]ν[ο]ι[ς]. [. . .] c. 20 letters προστ]άγματος τοῦ τὰ πάντα  
 μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ σοφοτάτου κοινοῦ  
 ἡμῶν ἄρχοντος ἐμφαν[ι]σθέντος ἡμ[ῶν] c. 15 letters ]φιας  
 παρακελευόμενον καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πληροῦντας  
 τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν λευκαντῶν προβολὴν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ ὀφίλοντος ἐξ  
 ἡμῶν ὑπεισελθεῖν τὸ τοῦ πρωτοδημότου  
 φρόντισμα ἐπὶ τῆς εὐτυχοῦς ἐνδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως, τοῦ καιροῦ  
 ἐνεστηκότος φόβῳ δουλεύοντες τοῖς περὶ τοῦτου  
 φοβερῶς προστεταγμένοις ὑφ' ἐν γενόμενοι καὶ μιᾶς κρατήσαντες  
 γνώμης ἐπιλεξάμενοι ὀνομάζομεν καὶ εἰσαγγέλλομεν  
 10 ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν κινδύνῳ καὶ τιμῆματι Ἀὐρήλιον Θεόδωρον υἱὸν Μαξίμου  
 ὁμότεχνον ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως  
 ὀρμώμενον πρωτοδημότην ἱκανὸν ὄντα δυνάμενον τὴν τοιαύτην  
 ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ ὑ' πρωτοδημότ[ου]  
 λειτουργεῖαν ἐξανύσαι ἐπὶ τῆς μνημονευθείσης ἐνδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως  
 προσηκόντως, ὃν καὶ ἐξεγγνώμενοι  
 ἐπὶ ἱκανότητι ἐπιζητούμεν[ον . . .] . . . ὡγῶμεν κ[αὶ] παραδώσομεν ἐξ  
 ἀλληλεγγύης ἐν δημοσίῳ τόπῳ. κυρία ἢ ὀνομασία  
 ἀπλή (?) γραφεῖσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν. m. 2 Α]ὐρήλιος  
 Ἰσὰκ υἱ[ὸ]ς Ἰωάννου λευκ[αντ]ῆς . . . . [

Back, downwards along the fibres:

15 (m. 1?) ] ὄνομ(αρία) Θεοδ[ώρου  
] . Ὁξυρρυγχ( ) γενομ(εν) . [

1 ἰνδικ[//ἰ//, οξυρρυγχ]	3 ὑπογραφόντων	4 ὑποτετα	5 ἰ. κοφωτάτου	7 ἰ. ὀφείλοντος;
ὑπείκειθαι	9 ὑφ	10 ἰδω, υἱόν	11 ἱκανόν	12 ἰ. λειτουργίαν
14 υἱ[ο]ς	15 ὀνομ	16 οξυρρυγχ[γενομ]		13 ἱκανότητι

(‘In the consulship of Flavius Orestes and Flavius Avienus, *uiri*) *clarissimi*, Phamenoth 25, 10th indiction, in Oxyrhynchus. (To NN *magistrate*) of this splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, from the guild (of the bleachers of the same city of Oxyrhynchus), represented by us who are present and whose subscriptions follow below, (...who pledge also) our colleagues who abide, together with us, by what is set out below. (Having received from you a copy?) of the edict of our in all matters most magnificent and most wise common *praeses*, which has been brought to our notice (through a letter in your own hand?), which orders us who carry out the trade of bleachers to make a proposal of one of our number who is due to enter the charge of *protodemotes* during the auspicious eleventh indiction, as now the time has come, we, in fear and obedience to what has been authoritatively decreed in this respect, having come to an accord and a unanimous decision, have chosen and nominate and announce at our own risk and liability Aurelius Theodorus son of Maximus, a colleague of ours coming from our city, as a suitable *protodemotes*, able to carry out the said liturgy of *protodemotes* that we have entrusted to him for the aforementioned eleventh indiction as is fitting, and we vouch for his suitability and when he is requested we shall ... and produce him under mutual surety in a public place. The nomination, written in one copy (or more?), is valid, and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Isak son of Ioannes, bleacher, ...’

1 As the handwriting suggests a date in the later fifth or the earlier sixth century, Phamenoth 25 of a tenth indiction year could be 21 March 457, 472, 487, 502, 517, or 532. Of these years 532 is the only one where two *clarissimi* (λαμπρότατοι) appear as consuls at the right time of year; hence the restoration given in the text, which seems to fit the space. The consuls of 502, Probus and Avienus, appear in the papyri as a pair only towards the end of the year. Earlier Probus, the eastern consul, is mentioned alone, see R. S. Bagnall, *APF* 29 (1983) 30, id. et al., *The Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 539.

2 Who is the addressee of this text? The deeds of surety P. Strassb. I 46–51 (AD 566) are addressed τῇ δημοσίᾳ ἀγορᾷ or τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ of Antinoe, represented by the town clerk (ἀρχιππηρέτης). In our text, however, a supplement along these lines would be too long for the available space which seems sufficient for a name and one or two titles. The ἐγγύη P. Laur. II 27 (AD 487–91) is addressed to Φλ. Εὐστοχίῳ ... πρωτεύοντι τῆς [Ἀρεινοῦτων πόλεως], and in Stud. Pal. XX 128 the same official is concerned with a problem arising from an ἐγγύη. πρωτεύων is not an official title but a general and informal designation of the highest dignitary representing the city, cf. XVI 1983 2–4, Stud. Pal. XX 146, and the editor’s note on Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII 13. 1.

2–3 παρὰ τοῦ κοινού [τῶν λευκαντῶν τῆς αὐτῆς Ὁξυρρυγχιτῶν πόλεως]ς would fill the space.

3 παρόντων καὶ ἐξῆς ὑπογραφόντων: guilds seem to have had two *κεφαλαιωταί*, so they may be the guild’s representatives here. This would appear likely if we knew that there was only one other subscription after that of Aurelius Isak (14). If so, one could supply, e.g. [τοῦ κοινού κεφαλαιωτῶν ἀναδεχομένων καὶ τοῦς] at the beginning of line 4.

5 In the next line παρακελεύόμενον suggests a noun (neuter or masc. accusative) with which [προστ]άγματος could be connected, e.g. δεξάμενοι παρὰ σου ἀντίγραφον προστ]άγματος κτλ.

5 ἄρχοντος: the *praeses*, see XVI 1829 2 n.

6 ἐμφαν[ι]σθέντος ἡμ[ῖν] διὰ τῆς σῆς ἰδιογρα]φίας?

6–7 τοῦς πληροῦντας τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν λευκαντῶν presumably means ‘those who fulfil, i.e. exercise, the trade of bleachers’, rather than ‘those who fill, i.e. make up the number of, the guild of bleachers’, since the guild is called *κοινόν*, not *ἐργασία*, in line 2.

<sup>7</sup> πρωτοδημότου. This title has occurred in few documents: XIV 1730 4 (IV), XXVII 2480 18 (VI), Stud. Pal. XX 227. 11 (VI/VII), P. Merton II 95. 2 (where the editors translate 'chief of the ward'). The present text makes it clear that it was a liturgy of one year's duration. The wording of this line seems to suggest that each guild had to nominate one of its members for the liturgy; it seems possible, however, that not every guild had to do this every year, but that they took turns.

A. D. E. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 42 points out that Latin *populus*, with which he equates δῆμος (43-4), is the standard term for the rank and file members of a guild, which explains the use of the term πρωτοδημότης in this case for what is evidently a representative of the guild of λευκανταί. What remains to be discovered is the context in which he represented it.

<sup>11</sup> ἐγχειρικθεΐσαν. The liturgy has been 'entrusted' to Theodorus by his colleagues. PSI XII 1265 and P. Rainer Cent. 122 are examples of nominations of guild members by their colleagues. The κοινόν of the villagers in 3985 operated on a similar pattern.

<sup>12</sup> ἐξεγγνώμενοι. This verb is not otherwise attested in the papyri.

H. MAEHLER

## IV. PRIVATE LETTERS

### 3988. BESARION TO HIERACION

18 2B.66/A(1-3)b

10 × 16 cm

Second century?

Besarion writes from Alexandria to Hieracion, his 'brother', that is, to a man of roughly the same age and status as himself, cf. LV **3813-15** introd., and note **3992** 2, 34, where the recipient is 'brother' in the prescript and 'friend' in the address. Hieracion evidently resided in Oxyrhynchus or its neighbourhood. Besarion reports that he tried to deliver a letter to a man called Valerius, who had left Alexandria on the very same day as Besarion arrived. He left the letter to be forwarded to Valerius, who was expected to return to Oxyrhynchus and tell his own story to Hieracion.

Besarion also reports the successful delivery of something to an unnamed poet in Alexandria; a patch of damage prevents us from knowing what it was. This literary touch comes from a writer whose writing is clear but not fluent, and certainly not elegant, and whose spelling and morphology are characteristic of the colloquial Greek of the period, see commentary. Presumably this was Besarion himself rather than a professional scribe; note that the farewell, line 20, is in the same hand as the rest. The letters are rarely ligatured and rather clumsily formed; there are frequent alterations of one letter to another. Such hands are difficult to date; in the absence of definite early or late features this one may be assigned tentatively to the second century, without excluding either the late first or the early third.

A sheet-join running vertically very close to the right edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece for the letter was cut. A damaged address in one, or possibly two, lines runs downwards along the fibres of the back. Its position, about 2.5 cm from the edge which is the right hand one as viewed from the front, shows that the letter was rolled up from the left hand edge, contrary to the usual practice, which imitated that of longer rolls; they put the right edge inside so that the first column comes into view as soon as the closed roll begins to be unrolled. Our letter was then squashed flat, the exposed right hand edge was tucked inside to protect it, and a centrally placed binding was put round the resulting flat package. Then the address, in two sections divided by the binding, was written on one side and a saltire pattern was inked over the binding so that any tampering with it would be detectable.

Βησαρίων Ἰερακίω[ι] τῷ ἀδελ-  
φῷ πλείστα χαίρειν. πρὸ μὲν πάν-  
των εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν. εὐθέ-  
ως παραγενάμενος ἐν Ἀλεξαν-  
δρεία πρὸς τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἀπέλ-



θα καὶ λέγουσί μοι σήμερον  
 αὐτὸν ἐγδεδημηκαίνει. ἔλα-  
 βαν τὸ ἐπ[ις]τόλιον ὡς ἵνα αὐτῷ  
 πέμψω[ι εἰς] τὴν χώραν. τὸ  
 10 λοιπὸν γν[ώσις]η παρ' αὐτοῦ. ἄσ-  
 πασαι Απα[ . . . ] καὶ . . . . . αν καὶ  
 Διόδωρον καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας.  
 καὶ τῷ ποιητῇ ἀναδέδωκα  
 . . . . . ]τ[ . . . ]κς. (vac.)  
 15 καὶ περὶ ὧν χρεῖαν ἔχεις  
 γράψον μ[οι]. τοῦ Σεράπιδος  
 θέλοντο[ς] κομφῶς ἔσχον  
 καὶ τὸ προ[σκ]ύνημά σου ἐποί-  
 ησα, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ πάντων.  
 20 ἔρρωσῶ.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀπὸ Βησαρίωνος (design) Ἱερακίωνι . . .

. . . . .

5 πρὸς: π corr. from α; 1. Οὐαλέριον; ἀπελ-: λ corr. (from ε?) 5-6 1. ἀπῆλθα 7 1. ἐκδεδημηκέναι  
 8 1. ἐπιστόλιον; αὐτῷ: υ corr. 12 Διόδωρον: δ corr.: οἴκῳ: κ corr. 16 Σεράπιδος: ε corr. from α  
 18 προ[σκ]ύνημα: μ corr. (from ας?) 20 1. ἔρρωσῶ

'Besarion to Hieracion, his brother, very many greetings. Before all else I pray for your health. As soon as I got to Alexandria I went off to Valerius, but they tell me that today he has left town. They accepted the letter, so as to send it to him in the country. The rest you will learn from him. Greet ... and ... and Diodorus and everyone in the household. I have also delivered to the poet ... 26 (or 26th?). Do write to me about whatever you need. By the will of Serapis I have been pretty comfortable and I made obeisance for you, as I said, and for everyone. Farewell!'

Back: 'From Besarion to Hieracion ...'

4 παραγειάμενος. On the replacement of the second aorist endings by those of the first, which is frequent, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 335-345; for this verb esp. 344. Cf. below 5-6, 7-8 nn.

5 Οὐαλέριον, cf. ἐπ[ις]τόλιον (8). See Gignac ii 25-9. He views the phenomenon as a new declension in -ις/-ων, -ίου, -ίω, -ιν, see esp. 28-9, rather than a strictly phonetic simplification of -ιος and -ιον.

5-6 ἀπέλθα = ἀπῆλθα. Interchange of η and ε (or αι) is attested, see Gignac i 242-9, but there is no example of its occurrence in these precise conditions, i.e. accented and before a liquid, see *ibid.* 243-4. Perhaps the writer had another wording in mind at first, e.g. ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Οὐαλέριον ἔγγων ... For the first aorist ending cf. 4 n.

7 ἐγδεδημηκαίνει = ἐκδεδημηκέναι. Both phonetic changes are common: for assimilation of κ to γ before δ see Gignac i 174, cf. 3989 6-7 n., for αι = ε *ibid.* 193.

7-8 ἔλαβαν. Cf. 4 n.

8 ἐπ[ι]τόλω. Cf. 5 n.

ὤς ἴνα. Double conjunctions are not uncommon in the papyri, cf. H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 109 n. line 8; for this one cf. SB VIII 9699. 11 (AD 78/9), P. Petaus 26. 3-4 (AD 184-7), P. Mich. VIII 505. 4 (II/III), PSI XIV 1421. 4 (III), P. Ant. II 93. 6 (IV), SB XIV 12085. 9 (V), XVI 1936 15 (VI/VII), PSI XIII 1345. 6 (VI/VII), P. Apoll. 63. 7 (VIII).

9 χάραν. For this sense of the word, meaning Egypt as the hinterland of Alexandria and contrasted with it, see U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 34.

13 ποιητή. Cf. PSI IV 388. 13, 19, 38 (244/3 BC), OGIS I 51. 31, 34, 37 (III BC), BGU XIV 2433. 5; 2434. 31 (I BC), SB I 595 (II), SB VIII 10068. 3 (II/III), P. Oslo III 189. 13 (III), XXII 2338 *passim* (AD 261/2-288/9; revised by R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 199-204), SB XIV 11929. 5 (AD 348). For poetic contests in Graeco-Roman Egypt see P. M. Fraser, *JEA* 45 (1959) 80. The young poets of 2338 competed at Naucratis, see R. A. Coles loc. cit.

13-14 It is not quite clear whether what was delivered to the poet was a letter, as often with this verb, or possibly money. In the first case the number at the end of 14 might be the date of delivery, the 26th of some month, in the second it might be the amount.

16-19 For the practice of the obeisance see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 3-211, esp. 172-9 for Sarapis as the god especially associated with Alexandria.

20 ἔρωω = ἔρωω. Cf. Gignac i 275-7 for interchange of ο and ω, which is very frequent, cf. 3989 6 n.

21 ἀπό Βησαρίωνος cf. 3991 32, 3992 34. Much more common in addresses is παρά. F. Ziemann, *De epistularum Graecarum formulis* 280, says that ἀπό so used occurs especially in the letters of the uneducated, but this is not a sufficient explanation. In particular 3992 seems not to be the letter of a totally uneducated person.

21-2 The traces are very scanty. In 22, where a strip of verso fibres is lost, it is not clear whether the writing might have extended further to the right. We rather expect ἀδελφῶ somewhere here, see 1-2, but it has not been recognized.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3989. LYCARION TO PLUTARCHUS

47 5B.46/C(3-4)a

16.5 × 21.5 cm

Second century

Lycarion, a former gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, writes to Plutarchus, a priest, entirely about business matters, the sale of non-laying pigeons, the manufacture of a new boat, and the successful sale of wine. Apart from this there is only the exchange of greetings.

The hand is a neat, fluent, cursive, sloping slightly to the right, and bearing enough resemblance to W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* No. 23 (AD 144) and No. 26a (AD 159/60) to be assigned with reasonable confidence to the second century.

The pattern of damage and the position of the address on the back show that the letter was packaged to be sent in the normal way, that is, it was rolled up with the right edge inside and squashed flat; the exposed left edge was tucked inside to protect it; the flat package was tied with a binding round the middle, over which a design was inked—on one side of the package only in this case—and the address was written along the fibres, downwards in relation to the letter, in two halves separated by the binding.

Λυκαρίων Πλουτάρχω τῶι

up to 20 letters χ]α[ίρει]ν.

traces of two lines

- 5 περιστεραὶ μὴ τίκτωσι πραθήτωσαν.  
 ἔγραψέν μοι Σαραπᾶς ὄπως ὄφ[ε]ιλεν ἔγδο-  
 θῆναι πάκ[τ]ωνα καινόν. εὐθέως οὖν ἔγδος.  
 τὰ δὲ μέτρ[α τ]ο[ῦ π]άκτωνος Σαραπᾶς σοι ἔρει.  
 ὄρα οὖν μὴ [ἀμ]ελή[σῃ]ς, ἐπεὶ χρεία ἐστὶν αὐ-  
 10 τοῦ εἰς τ[ὸ χ]ῶ[μ]α τὸ περὶ Ποσομπόυς τῶ και-  
 ρῶ τῆς ὑδροφυλακίας. καλῶς ἐποίησας  
 τὸν οἶνον ἐμπ[ο]ρ[ι]κῶς πωλήσας καὶ μὴ κο-  
 τυλίσας. ἀσπάζου τὰ παιδιά σου καὶ τὴν  
 ἀδελφήν. [ἀ]σπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς Ἀπολλωνία.  
 15 ἔρρωσθαί σε εὔχομαι, τιμιώ-  
 τατε.  
 ἔρρ[ωσο. Φα]με[νὸ]θ κᾶ.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) Πλουτάρχω ἱερεὶ φίλῳ (design) <παρὰ> Λυκαρίωνος  
 γυμνασιάρχῆ(σαντος) Ὁξυρ(υγχιτῶν).

6 l. ὄφειλεν, ἐκδο-      7 l. ἔκδος      18 ἱερεὶ; γυμνασιάρχῆ Ὁξυρ (no mark)

‘Lycarion to Plutarchus ..., greetings. ... (if?) the pigeons are not laying, they are to be sold. Sarapas wrote me that a new boat should be put out to contract. So put it out right away. Sarapas will tell you the measurements. See that you are not negligent, because there is need of it for the dyke at Posompoys at the season of the water control. You did well to sell the wine wholesale and not piecemeal. Greet your children and sister. Apollonia greets you. I pray for your health, my valued friend.’

‘Farewell! Phamenoth 21st.’

Back: (1st hand?) ‘To Plutarchus, priest, friend, from(?) Lycarion ex-gymnasiarch of the Oxyrhynchites.’

2-4 There is no obvious explanation for the faintness of the remains of writing in these three lines, where the surface damage does not look particularly severe. The traces of χ]α[ίρει]ν are minimal, but the remains in 3-4 are extensive enough to show that the letter proper began with line 3 and that the prescript ended with 2. In 2 we need something to go with the dative article in 1, e.g. φίλῳ or ἱερεὶ, cf. 18, or τιμωτάτῳ, cf. 15-16. There were probably spaces between the words as in 1, so that it is unlikely that it has lost as many as the twenty letters for which there might be room. Before χ]α[ίρει]ν, which is inevitable however the traces are identified, something like πολλά or πλείστα might have intervened.

6 ὄπως. Cf. LSJ s.v. A.II, ‘sometimes used to introduce the substance of a statement’.

ὄφ[ε]ιλεν = ὄφειλεν. Cf. 3988 20 n., F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 232.

6-7 ἐγδοθῆναι = ἐκδοθῆναι, ἔγδος = ἔκδος. Cf. 3988 7 n.

The meaning of ἐκδίδωμι here seems to be 'give out to contract', that is, a new boat was to be ordered from a boatbuilder. The clearest parallel appears in connection with the clothing levy required from the weavers by the government, see P. Phil. 10. 17-21 (duplicated in BGU VII 1572. 13-16), ὅπως τὸν ἐγδεδομένον ἱματικὸν ἀπαρτίσωμεν καὶ παραδῶμεν καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ἐπικεῖται ἡμῖν ἕτερον δημοσίου ἱματικμοῦ ἔγδοσις, ἣν πάλιν ἡμᾶς ἀπαρτίσαι δεήσει, '... so that we may complete and deliver the clothing given out to contract, especially because there has been imposed on us a contract for another state clothing levy, which it will again be necessary for us to complete'. Cf. P. Coll. Youtie I 16. 29a-30a n., on δημοσία ἱμάτια. A clear instance in a private context is given by SB XVI 12694. 3. Other probable, but less clear, instances are VIII 1153 26, XXXI 2593 17-21, XLIX 3507 28-9, P. Fuad I Univ. 10. 10.

7 πᾶκ[τ]ωνα. Cf. LVI 3866 2 n. for this type of boat.

10 τ[ὸ] χ[ρ]ῶ[μ]α. Although very little ink survives, the restoration is suggested by the very frequent references to ὑδροφυλακία χωμάτων, e.g. P. Fuad I Univ. 21. 23, IV 729 7, XIV 1700 17, XLIX 3498 30, LI 3638 24, LII 3690 16, P. Wisc. I 9. 26.

Ποσομπόως. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 153-4. The genitive Ποσομπόως implies that ου is not a diphthong, but the declension seems to vary.

τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ὑδροφυλακίας. This presumably refers to the inundation period, beginning ideally in mid-July, when the dykes were in special need of guarding. The letter is dated to 17 March, see 17. On private ὑδροφύλακες see M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft* 63-4, and the present passage looks as if it concerns a private matter, although there was a liturgy described in the same terms, see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* (Pap. Flor. XI) 50.

12 ἐμπ[ο]ρ[ι]κῶς. Cf. Strabo 8. 6. 16 *ad fin.*, writing of Aegina: ἐμπόριον γὰρ γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν λυπρότητα τῆς χώρας, τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαλαττουργούντων ἐμπορικῶς. This word fits the traces very well and, though it is not perfectly parallel with the Strabo passage, it can reasonably be taken to mean simply 'wholesale' in antithesis to κοτυλίας, 'selling by the pint', cf. W. Chr. 311 (=P. Amh. II 92). 6-7, Stud. Pal. XXII 177. 25; oil is concerned in both cases; the noun κοτυλιεμός also occurs in Stud. Pal. XXII 177. 23-4, 34; in P. Ryl. IV 692. 4 its restoration seems dubious. For κοτυλίζειν in a more general sense, 'sell retail, sell piecemeal' see Arist. *Oec.* 1347b. 7-8 τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἐμπόροις καλῶς εἶχε μὴ κοτυλίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα τὰ φορτία πεπραῖσθαι; St. Byz. 338. 5-6 πωλοῦσι δὲ μόνοις τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἀθρόα τὰ φορτία παρὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀγοράζοντες αὐτὰ κατ' ὀλίγα καὶ κοτυλίζουσι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις.

17 The repetition of the farewell is unexpected. One might have understood it, if the hand seemed to be that of the sender contrasting with the script of an amanuensis who wrote the letter, but the line does not really seem to be in a second hand. The initial epsilon is not like that of ἐρρῶσθαι (15), but it is quite like the one in τιμώτατε (15-16) and there is no perceptible change of hand or ink.

The date is equivalent to 17 March. It is not usual to specify the year in private letters later than the first century, but we might just envisage the possibility that ἐρρωσο was abbreviated enough to leave room for a regnal year number without the name of the emperor.

18 The address is written in a large upright clear hand and in a much more formal style, as is usually the case. The writer would presumably be the same.

Although this wording could be translated as it stands, the usual formulas of addresses strongly recommend the insertion of <παρά> before the sender's name.

Lycarion, ex-gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, is not recorded in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques*. Aurelius Lycarion, gymnasiarch designate, seemingly of Heracleopolis, in the period AD 282-4, see *ZPE* 20 (1976) 159-60, is irrelevant on account of date and place, nor has any record of a priest called Plutarchus yet been identified.

The design, which was drawn over the binding round the middle of the letter, see introd., was a saltire cut through the crossing by a horizontal line. The centre, which was on the missing binding, is now lost.

It is not clear how the final word was abbreviated, perhaps just by an oblique stroke, as often in abbreviations. There is a trace of ink at a high level to the right of the rho.



## 3990. TO ΑΡΙΑ

74/76(a)

10 × 20 cm

Second century

This informal letter to a woman is written across the fibres on the back of a fragment of an account of grain in artabas, with beginnings of 16 lines in a rapid cursive with many abbreviations. There is no sheet join to prove that the letter is on the verso, but the usual practice strongly suggests that the account is written on the recto of the original roll and that a piece was cut from the account so that the letter could be written on the blank back. In line 5 of the account there is a symbol for aruras. The general impression is that of an official register, rather than a private memorandum. There is no address, evidently because the bearer, who is mentioned in the letter (3-4, 16-20), did not need one.

The script of the letter is fluent and legible. It may be compared with W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* No. 23, particularly with the third hand, lines 22 ff.; that document is dated to AD 144, which allows us to assign the present one to the second century.

The sender, whose name is unfortunately lost in the only area of serious damage, seems to have been in a country district characterized by a dyke, in the company of a man from the region of Thebes. It is not clear whether they were connected with irrigation work on the dyke or with agricultural work in the neighbourhood. The bearer of the letter, who was also a Theban, was bringing bundles of vine prunings to the woman and was to receive money from her, perhaps in payment for them; he perhaps arrived, in company with others or another, in the boat which was to be handed over to a harbour guard, and the writer expected him to rejoin the other Theban and himself with bread and money sent by the woman. It is also mentioned that the letter carrier claimed to know about fishing, and that the writer wanted to receive information unspecified about the epistrategus.

This accumulation of tantalizing details without certain connections is typical of papyrus letters.

5-10 letters ] Ἀπίαι τῆι

ἀδελφ]ῆι χαίρειν.

τῶ ἀναδιδό]γτι σοι τὸ ἐπιστόλιον Θη-

βα]ί[ω] δ[ός] (δραχμὰς) κδ̄ ὀφειλομένας αὐ-

5 τῶ, κομιζαμένη ἀγκάλας ἀμ-

πελίνας ἱ. παραδότωσαν δὲ

τὴν σκάφην τῶ ὀρμοφύλακι

σὺν κώπαις β̄ καὶ κοντῶ

καὶ ἀρμένω. κατέσχον ἕνα Θη-

- 10 βαῖον ἐπὶ [τῶ] χῶματι, ᾧ πέμψεις  
 ἄρτων (δραχμὰς) δ καὶ ἡμῖν χαλκόν.  
 ἀσπάζομαι ζερῆνον τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 καὶ Πτολεμαῖον. περὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρατή-  
 γου δῆλωσόν μοι. ἐρρώσθαί
- 15                   σε εὖχομ(αι), ἀδελφή.  
 κόμις[αι π]αρὰ τοῦ Θεβαίου κάκ-  
 κον. ὃν πρ[ό]τρεψαι ταχέως  
 ἔλθειν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ χῶ-  
 ματι μέλλε[ι] μένειν. φησὶ δὲ
- 20 εἰδέναι καὶ ἰχθύας θήραν.

15 ευχομ<sup>μ</sup>

'...to Apia his sister, greetings. Give the Theban bringing you the letter 24 drachmas, which are owing to him, when you have taken delivery of 16(?) vine bundles. They must hand over the boat to the harbour guard, with two oars and pole and sail. I kept one Theban at the dyke, to whom you are to send 4 drachmas' worth of loaves, and to us cash. I greet Serenus my brother and Ptolemaeus. Let me know about the epistrategus. I pray for your health, sister.

'Take delivery of a sack from the Theban. Tell him to set out quickly, since he is going to stay at the dyke himself. He says that he also knows about fishing.'

1 Ten letters is about the maximum for the missing name of the sender; probably it was quite a short name followed by a blank as large as that between *Ἀπίαι* and *τῆι*, i.e. slightly under 1 cm.

2 For *ἀδελφ]ῆι* cf. 15. The word must have been indented by about three or four letter spaces, which would be a normal layout. The relationship was not necessarily that of brother and sister, see **3988** introd.

3 *τῷ ἀναδίδο]γτι*. This is a very common expression for the bearer of a letter, cf. e.g. P. Coll. Youtie II 88. 16, P. Harr. I 110. 3, 153. 7, P. Herm. 13. 5-6, P. Mich. VIII 515. 2, P. Mil. Vogl. III 201. 8-9, III **532** 10-11, XIV **1770** 15, XX **2275** 5, XXXI **2577** 5.

3-4 *Θη[βα]ί[φ]*. Cf. 16 *κόμις[αι π]αρὰ τοῦ Θεβαίου ...* The writer had detained another man from Thebes, seemingly to work on or at a dyke: 9-10 *κατέσχον ἓνα Θεβαῖον ἐπὶ [τῶ] χῶματι*, and the bearer of the letter was expected to join the other Theban in the same place quickly (16-19). The significance of the Theban origin of these workers is not clear. It is not necessary to conclude that the letter was sent from that area, and in fact it seems unlikely that the vine prunings of 5-6 would have been worth transporting from a place so far to the south. More probably the Thebans were migrant labourers, and villagers rather than metropolitans, working somewhere near Oxyrhynchus, cf. H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung* 60 and n. 36.

5-6 *ἀγκάλας ἀμπέλινας*. These appear to be bundles of prunings from the vines, see XLVII **3354** 8-9, with translation and 9 n., although in editing XIV **1631** Grenfell and Hunt thought that *ἀγκαλιςμὸς καὶ δέεις* (*ἀγκ[αλῶν*, cf. **3354** 9 n.) referred to the harvesting of reeds to serve as vine props, see **1631** 9 n. *ad fin.* (p. 20). Pruning is an important part of viticulture, see K. D. White, *Roman Farming* 239-40. In wood starved Egypt perhaps the vine prunings would be useful as fuel.

6 *τ̄*. The number is much damaged: the first upright is quite likely to be an iota = 10, but the second trace, which is the end of a highish horizontal slightly rising to the right, could represent α, γ, ε, ς, or θ. Of these gamma or stigma are best. For the translation the guess is 16, because it looks as if 24 drachmas may be the price of the bundles, which suggests an even number. On this doubtful guess a bundle cost one and a half drachmas.

6-7 *παραδότωσαν*. The reason for the plural is not clear. A guess might be that the Theban was not alone when he arrived with the letter and that he and his companions travelled in the boat.

7 ὀρμοφύλακι. This official was a liturgist in the second and third centuries AD, see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 269–70, N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 41; cf. most lately P. Erasm. I 13. 2, the sole reference from the Ptolemaic period.

8–9 These details give a general idea of the boat, although the word *κάρφη* (7) already suggests that it was small, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 330, 335–6. It could be powered by one man at the two oars, but it also had a sail (*ἄρμενον*) and a pole (*κοντός*). This word in boating contexts means a pole used for punting and fending off, see Casson, *op. cit.* 395, cf. 251 and n. 105. In the absence of specific mention of a mast it is not clear whether the sail was too small to need a timber big enough to merit the name of mast (*ἵστός*) or yard (*κέρας*), but could be set up on the all purpose pole, or whether *ἄρμενον*, which basically means ‘tackle, gear’, from *ἀραρίσκω*, really included the mast and rigging.

11 ἄρτων (*δραχμάς*) δ. In spite of some damage the sign for drachmas, as above in 4, seems a more convincing reading than e.g. ζ(εύγη), although pairs of loaves are common. For ‘4 dr. (worth) of loaves’ cf. e.g. SB VI 9026. 10–12 *πέμψης ... ἐριοξύλου δραχμάς εἴκοσι*, ‘... send 20 dr. (worth) of cotton’. For bread prices see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 316. From the not too abundant evidence cited there it appears that a usual rate was 1 obol per loaf, so that dr. 4 would buy 24 loaves, or perhaps 28, if it was in the form of a silver tetradrachm.

χαλκόν. For ‘bronze’ = ‘money’ see WB s.v. *χαλκός* (4). The implication of this term rather than *ἀργύριον* might be that a small amount was wanted, small change in bronze fractions of the silver tetradrachm.

13–14 *ἐπιστρατήγου*. On the office see J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos*. The implication of this brief instruction can hardly be guessed.

19–20 Fishing might be a useful skill *ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι*, since the dyke might well be next to a canal, but the relevance even of that is doubtful.

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### 3991. SARAPIAS TO ISCHYRION

47 5B.42/G(1–3)a

8 × 30.5 cm

Second/third century

Sarapias wrote to her ‘brother’, cf. **3988** introd., in happy anticipation of his arrival for a festival, which may be identifiable with one known at Oxyrhynchus for the month of Tybi, in which the letter is dated, see 6 n., 30–31. She tells him that she will put off sending him supplies which she had intended for him, and in the most interesting passage tells him that his mother has made him a cotton tunic. Cotton is very rarely mentioned in the papyri, although there is evidence that it was grown to some small extent in Egypt, see 14 n.

This tall narrow letter is written on a strip cut from a roll which contained a register. Of this there remain the ends of twenty-two lines with names and amounts of grain in artabas; the top and foot of the column are preserved and the writing, a fluent cursive of the late second or early third century, runs along the fibres of what was no doubt the recto of the roll, although no sheet join is preserved to prove it. In the top half of the right margin stands the address, written downwards across the fibres of the recto. The letter is written the same way up across the fibres of the verso and is virtually undamaged. Its clumsier cursive writing appears to be of much the same date as the register, although it must be later by at least a short period.

The position of the address and the patterns of folding, blotting and damage, show how the letter was packaged for dispatch. The bottom half was folded up over the top so as to conceal the letter, the central crease running through line 15. The doubled sheet was rolled up with the right edge of the letter inside, squashed flat, and left edge was tucked inside to protect it. At this stage the outside of the package was nearly blank, because the recto text too was concealed except for the ends of a few lines long enough to project into the margin. The package was then closed by a binding round the middle, on one side a design was inked over the binding and the address was written in two halves separated by the binding. The design was a simple saltire, its lines retraced two or three times. The removal of the binding has removed the centre of the design.

Σαραπιάς Ἰσχυρίωνι  
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρε(ιν)  
 λείαν ἐχάρην κο-  
 μισθέντων σου  
 5 τῶν γραμμάτων  
 ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἑορτὴν  
 ἐρχομένου σου πρὸς  
 ἡμᾶς. πολλὰ δέ σοι  
 ἐπιμήνι, ἃ ἐμέλ-  
 10 λομεν πέμπειν,  
 ἐπέσχομεν προσ-  
 δοκῶντες τ[ουτο] ἣν παρούςῃαν.  
 τὸν χιτῶνά σοι τὸν  
 ἐρίο[ξ]υλον ἢ μήτηρ  
 15 σου κ[α]τεσκεύασε.  
 ἐζητ[ο]ῦμεν [σοι] τὸν  
 δυνάμενον κομίσει  
 ἀσφαλῆ[ν]. ἀσπάζεται  
 ἢ μήτηρ σου καὶ Σιν-  
 20 θοῶνις καὶ ὁ πατήρ  
 σου. ἀσπασαὶ Ἐπαφρό-  
 δειτον καὶ Δημήτριον(ν)  
 καὶ Ἡρακλείδην.  
 ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἕγεγό-



25 νειμεν οὐ μεικρᾶ,  
 πολλῶ χρόνῳ  
 μὴ κομισθέν-  
 των σου γραμμά-  
 των.  
 30 ἔρρωσο. Τῦβι  
 ἰς.

Back, downwards across the fibres:

ἀπὸ Σαραπιάδο'ς (design) Ἰσχυρίων[ι].

2 χαίρῃ 3 ἰ. λίαν 21-2 ἰ. Ἐπαφρόδιτου 25 ἰ. μικρᾶ

'Sarapias to Ischyriion her brother, greetings. I was overjoyed when your letter was brought, because you are coming to us for the festival. A lot of supplies for the month which we had intended to send we held back in expectation of your visit. Your mother made you the cotton tunic. We were looking for someone reliable who could deliver it. Your mother and Sinthöonis and your father greet you. Greet Epaphroditus and Demetrius and Heracleides. We had been in no little anxiety because for a long time no letter of yours was delivered. Farewell. Tybi 16.'

Back. 'From Sarapias to Ischyriion.'

6 πρός. For this sense, 'for', see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik*<sup>15</sup> 190 (§239. 7).

ἑορτήν. In line 30-31 the letter is dated Tybi 16, 11 January, or 12 January in a leap year. There was a Greek festival connected with the gymnasium which took place c. Tybi 24, 19/20 January, see F. Perpillou-Thomas, 'La panégyrie au gymnase d'Oxyrhynchos', *CE* 61 (1986) 303-12, cf. *LV* 3812 18 n. This could well be the festival alluded to here.

9 ἐπιμήνι, ᾶ. For this harsh elision cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 317 para. d.

12 τοῦτο has been corrected to τὴν παρουσίαν; the end -ζίαν, which is slightly below the original level of the line, is now extremely faint. We might expect also σου, but it does not seem to have been written. A large blot above the line just left of ἠνπαρου looks like a botched first attempt at the correction; this and a smaller blot above line 9 were offset on top of lines 19 and 22 when the letter was folded horizontally, see introd.

14 ἐριό[ξ]υλον. This is clearly regarded as an adjective \*ἐριόξυλος, 'made of cotton'. In P. Mich. VIII 500. 7 τὰ ἐριόξυλα and SB VI 9026. 14-15 τῶν ἐριόξυλων might be plural of ἐριόξυλον, 'cotton'. On cotton in Graeco-Roman Egypt see most recently G. Wagner, *Les Oases d'Égypte* 291-3, incorporating the evidence of O. Douch I 51 of the fourth or fifth century AD, recording weights of cotton allocated to women. The plant was grown in southern Egypt (P. Iand. VII 142 ii 8, c. AD 164/5; Pliny, *NH* XIX 14, Pollux VII 75). The statement of Pollux that the cotton yarn was used as weft on a linen warp may receive support from two second century private letters, SB VI 9025. 31-2, where the writer says that she had not found a cotton tunic, but could have one made if her correspondent would send her the measurements and some warp, and SB VI 9026. 10-12 (cf. 14), where the writer asked for twenty drachmas worth of good cotton weft. On these letters see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* ii 665-74 (= *AJP* 65 (1944) 249-58). The other references are P. Lond. III 928. 1 (p. 190; 3rd cent., see BL I 288), where the context is fragmentary, and P. Mich. VIII 500. 7 (2nd cent.), where the restoration of the following sentence to imply that the cotton goods were to be sent from Rome does not convince. The new reference here does not change the impression that cotton was comparatively rare, see I. Callaris, *αἱ πρῶται ὕλαι τῆς ὑφαντουργίας* 87-9, E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile* 40-41. Callaris and Wipszycka prefer to think that most of these documents refer to cotton imported from India. They are perhaps not so numerous as to force us to resort to that

hypothesis, but there is other evidence for cotton exports from India to the West, see L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* 292–3, cf. esp. 16–19.

18 ἀσφαλῆ{ν}. For phonetic difficulties with nasals cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111–114.

22 Δημήτριον(ν). A tiny raised speck is interpreted as omicron, and in fact it looks quite like the tiny omicron of Ἐπαφρό- above, but it could be a trace of a horizontal line, i.e. Δημήτριον(ν), cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–9, **3988** 5 n.

24–5 ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ γέγονοιμεν. If this is genuinely aphaeresis, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 319–20, but for loss of syllabic augment in pluperfects cf. id. ii 224 para. 2(a). Cf. **3994** 6 and n.

30–31 Cf. 6 n.

32 For ἀπό in addresses cf. **3988** 21 n., **3992** 34.

For the design cf. introd., with **3988** introd., **3989** introd., 18 n.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3992. AELIUS THEON TO HERMINUS

47 5B.47/A(5–8)a

10 × 21.5 cm

Second century

This looks like the letter of a wooer to his prospective father-in-law, whom he calls his ‘friend’ in the address (34), but in the prescript (2) ‘brother’, which indicates that Herminus was a man of about his own age and of similar status, see **3988** introd. The beloved was ‘my lady your daughter Dionysia’, who receives greetings before her mother. Theon apologizes for not having sent some special delicacies (τραγημάτια) to Dionysia, ‘because the new ones have not yet been shipped in’. He promises to send some worthy of her when they do come, as well as anything else that he can. He tells Herminus that he makes her obeisance before Sarapis every day, adding ‘and yours and her mother’s’ as a polite afterthought. The obeisance to Sarapis is quite probably an indication that the letter comes from Alexandria, see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 172–3.

Then come more greetings, the farewell and the date, Pachon 22, which is 17 May, but two more paragraphs follow, alluding to business matters which remain opaque for us.

There is a sheet join running vertically close to the middle, which proves that the letter is written on the recto of the roll from which this piece was cut. On the back, downwards along the fibres, is an address in two sections divided by a design of the common saltire pattern, which marks the spot where the letter was tied up for dispatch, cf. **3988** introd. *ad fin.*

The date is assessed on the basis of the writing, a firm and competent cursive, which may probably be safely assigned to the second century. Note also the *nomen* Aelius, which is most likely to derive in some way from a grant of citizenship by Hadrian or Pius, perhaps through manumission, directly or indirectly; see also 1 n.

The single accent in line 27, a circumflex on omega to draw attention to the first person of the subjunctive of the verb to be, is enough of a rarity in this context to deserve notice, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* No. 70.

Αἴλιος Θεών Ἐρμίνωι τῶι

ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν.

καὶ πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἔγραψά `σοι` ἀσπαζόμενός σε καὶ τὴν κυρίαν μου

5 θυγατέρα σου [Δι]ονυσίαν καὶ τὴν

μητέρα αὐτῆ[ς]. καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ

ποιῶ καὶ παρ[α]καλῶ συγγνώναί

`μοι` εἰ μήπω τῆι `αὐτῆι` κυρίαὶ ἡμῶν πέ-

πομφα τραγημάτια. οὐπω γὰρ

10 τὰ νέα κατέπλευσεν. ὅταν δὲ

κατακομισθῆι, πέμψω αὐτῆ[ι]

ἄξια αὐτῆς κα[ι] εἴ τ[ι] ἄλλο ἔαν δύ-

νωμαι. ἐκάστη[ς μὲν] τοι ἡμέρας

τὸ προσκύνημα αὐτῆς [π]οιῶ πα-

15 ρὰ τῶι θεῶι τω θε[. .]τω[ι] κυρίωι

Σαράπιδι καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς

αὐτῆς. ἀσπάζ[ου] οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ

τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς, μεθ' ὧν ἐρρώ-

σθαί σε εὐχομαι εἰς μακροὺς χρόνους

20 καὶ ὄλωι σου τῶι οἴκω[ι].

ἔρρω(σο). Παχῶν κβ.

Διογᾶς ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνέπλευσεν, ἐπὶ

ποῖαι αἰρέσει μεταδῶσει σοι

καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου καὶ Διονύσιος

25 ὁ νομογράφος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος

ὁ μελλογυμνασίαρχος, οἷς συλ-

λήψη, ἔαν γε μὴ ᾧ πεπλανη-

μένος. (vac.)

Σαραπιόδωρος ὁ φίλος ὁ ἔμπορος

30 πολλάκις με λυπήσας καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς

περὶ Διογᾶτος ἀντιδικεῖ μοι. τοῦτο

ὑμᾶς μαρτύρομαι μόνον. οὐ γὰρ

ὑπομένω αὐτὸν μιμήσασθαι.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

ἀπὸ Αἰλίου Θεώνος (design) Ἑρμίνω φίλωι.

21 ερρ<sup>ω</sup>

27 ὦ

'Aelius Theon to Herminus his brother, greetings. I also wrote to you a few days ago, saluting you and my lady your daughter Dionysia and her mother. I am doing the same now, and I beg you to excuse me if I have not yet sent this same lady of ours any dainties, because the new ones have not yet been shipped in; but when they are brought in I shall send her some worthy of her, along with whatever else I can. However, every day I make her obeisance before the god, the (...?) lord Sarapis, and yours and her mother's. So greet her and her mother, and with them I wish you and your whole household good health for many years. Farewell! Pachon 22.'

'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose my sister will inform you, as will Dionysius the district scribe and Ptolemaeus the gymnasiarch elect, all of whom you will assist, if I am not mistaken.'

'Sarapiodorus, my friend the merchant, who has often caused me grief, is now also opposing me in the matters relating to Diogas. This I am only drawing to your attention, since I cannot bear to imitate him.'

Back: 'From Aelius Theon to Herminus his friend.'

1 On the probable significance of the *nomen* Aelius see introd. para. 4. The name Aelius Theon is that of a rhetorician from Alexandria whose book of *προγυμνάσματα* has survived in large part, see *Rhetores Graeci* (Teubner, ed. L. Spengel) ii 59–130, cf. Suidas (Adler) I ii 702. 17, No. 206, RE VA coll. 2037–54. It is perhaps worth raising the possibility that the sender of the letter could be that man, since E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* 86–7, 92–3, has drawn attention to the signs of interest in literary studies at Oxyrhynchus and of contacts with Alexandrian scholarship; he suggested that the Alexandrian lexicographer Harpocration is to be recognized in some documentary papyri, as well as other less familiar scholars of the period.

9 *τραγημάτια*. The diminutive form occurs also in P. Mich. II 123 verso v 21, and in Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* VII 13. 12. A recent study of the meaning of *τραγήματα* by E. Battaglia, *Artos* 125–6, shows that they included cakes, although most of the things mentioned in the literary passages cited are fruits or nuts. See now also *ZPE* 86 (1991) 276, No. 13. 2.

10–11 *κατέπλευσεν, κατακομισθήι*. In most Egyptian contexts these words would refer to a voyage northwards, down the Nile, see e.g. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 493 (= *Harvard Theological Review* 41 (1948) 15) n. 36, cf. LSJ s.v. *καταπλέω* I. 2, and note *ἀνέπλευσεν* in 22 plainly referring to a voyage up the Nile towards Oxyrhynchus. In most non-Egyptian contexts they would refer to the import of goods by sea, see LSJ s.vv. *κατακομίζω* 4, 'import', *καταπλέω* I. 1. In relation to Alexandria, where this letter was quite probably written, see introd. para. 1, either sense is possible, and there is some likelihood that Aelius Theon was promising to send a present of exotic delicacies, such as walnuts and pine kernels, see E. Battaglia, *Artos* 125–6.

12–13 On the combination of *εἶ τις* with *ἐάν* see H. Ljungvik, *Zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* 16–17.

14–17 On the obeisances to Sarapis cf. introd. para 1.

15 *τω θε[.]τω[ι]*. The spacing does not suggest, perhaps does not allow, *τῶι θεῶι τῶι θειοτάτῳ κυρίῳι*. One possibility, favoured by the distance between *ω* and the upright trace of what must be the next letter, might be *τῶι θεῶι τῶν θε[ῶν] τῶ[ι] κυρίῳι*, but the expression 'the god of gods, the lord Sarapis' is unfamiliar and does not immediately inspire confidence. A less bizarre possibility is that *τῶι θεῶι* was repeated by accident, but even so 'the god, the lord Sarapis' is also unparalleled.

20 *καὶ ὄλωι σου τῶι οἴκῳ[ι]*. For the sake of the grammar we might suggest *ἐν ὄλωι κτλ.*, cf. P. Mert. I 24. 22–3, P. Mich. VIII 481. 29, XX 2273 25–6, and this may have been in the writer's mind. Alternatively we could correct the datives to accusatives, cf. P. Petaus 28. 2, 23–4, P. Princ. II 73. 16, SB XIV 11906. 4–5.



22 Διογᾶς. On names ending in -ᾶς, which are frequent, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 16.

It is not clear what is meant by ὁ ἐμός; Diogas could perhaps be a slave, or a relative, or a friend or colleague. The whole postscript in 22–33 is too obliquely allusive for us to understand what was happening.

22–6 The punctuation and the meaning are uncertain. The printed text shows the minimum punctuation and the translation takes the three καί in 24–5 as parallel. Professor Parsons suggested that we should put a comma in 24 after καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου, taking καί as emphatic, and view καὶ Διονύσιος ... καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ... as additional subjects of ἀνέπλευσεν rather than of μεταδώσει, 'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose my sister will inform you, as did Dionysius ... and Ptolemaeus ...' Yet another possibility is that a comma should fall after μεταδώσει σοι, of which the subject would be 'he', Διογᾶς. Then ἡ ἀδελφή μου would also be a subject of ἀνέπλευσεν, 'My Diogas sailed upstream, with what purpose he will inform you, as did my sister and Dionysius ... and Ptolemaeus ...' It is not easy to make a choice without knowledge of the circumstances.

23 ποῖαι. According to E. Mayser, *Grammatik* II i 78, ποῖος already from the Ptolemaic period ceased to ask for the quality and became identical with τίς.

25 The function of the νομογράφος still remains obscure; on the little that is known see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* ii 30–31.

27–8 Cf. LV **3808** 6–7, **3819** 14–15, **3820** 12, 13–14 for unusual periphrastic verb forms, but this is unusual only in being so very correct!

29 It is clear from the context that φίλος is meant ironically. For another example of irony see XVIII **2190** 41 ὁ χρήσιμος Ἡρακλᾶς—κακὸς κακῶς! ... ἔφυγεν, 'The useful Heraclas—curse him!— ... ran away'. Heraclas was a disobedient slave.

34 For ἀπό in addresses, see **3988** 21 n. φίλωι. Cf. introd. para. 1.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3993. COPRYS AND SINTHONIS TO SARAPAMMON AND SYRA

48 5B.26/H(1–3)a

24.5 × 22 cm

Second/third century

The most striking part of this letter is the acknowledgment of the receipt through an ἐπιστολαφόρος, a public servant appointed to carry official correspondence, of a letter from the addressees and of a package containing gold leaves wrapped in a cloth (9–11). As usual with private letters, we would like to know more: the nature of the arrangement with the official dispatch carrier and the nature and purpose of the gold leaves.

The letter is written throughout in the same hand, probably that of a clerk, since it is a clear and firm cursive, probably of around AD 200. There are two columns, the first about 13 cm broad and 19 cm deep, the second narrower, c. 7 cm broad, and shorter, c. 15.5 cm deep. The single sheet join runs down the intercolumnium. The clerk may have taken its position into account when he planned the layout. On the back there is the sort of saltire pattern which normally marks the point where a letter was tied when it was made into a package for dispatch, cf. **3988** introd. This is faint, but perfectly visible, whereas there is no trace of the expected address. It is possible that this is a file copy kept in Oxyrhynchus by the senders, cf. 4–5 n.

Κοπρῦς κ[α]ὶ Σινθῶνις ζα' ῥ' ἀπάμμωνι καὶ Σύρα  
 τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις υἱοῖς χαίρειν.  
 πρὸ τῶν ὄλων ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα  
 καὶ τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιούμεν παρὰ  
 5 τοῖς πατρώοις ὑμῶν θεοῖς. ἐκομίσάμεθα  
 παρὰ Τροφίμου καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως κοῦφα ἕξ καὶ  
 ἀπαιτούμεθα ναύλου ἀπὸ Δικωμίας (δραχμᾶς) 5 ὀβ(ολοῦς) 5  
 καὶ τέλους (δραχμᾶς) γ (τριώβολον), καὶ ἀμβουῦλλαν καὶ σολίων  
 ζεύγη δ̄, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιστολαφόρου ἐκομι-  
 10 σάμεθα γράμματα ὑμῶν καὶ ῥάκος ἐν ᾧ ἐς-  
 τιν πέταλα χρυσᾶ, ἃ δεδώκαμεν Τροφίμῳ.  
 ἐδηλώσατε ἡμεῖν λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς παρὰ Πετοσεί-  
 ριος τοῦ ἱερέως (δραχμᾶς) φ̄ καὶ ταύτας μέχρι τοῦ νῦν  
 οὐκ ἀπειλήσαμεν. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν. εἶπαν  
 15 γὰρ ἡμεῖν ὅτι, 'συλλέγομεν αὐτά'. ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι,  
 'εἰσὶν (δραχμαὶ) ὑμῆ'. εἰ [ο]ῦν γὰρ εἰσὶν αὐται, δήλωσον ἡ-  
 μεῖν. περὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐσμεν ὅτι, 'εἰ θέλετε παρ' ἡ-  
 μῶν τὰς (δραχμᾶς) φ̄ καὶ ἡμεῖν τὸ γράμμα δοῦναι'. αὐ-  
 τοὶ δὲ λέγουσιν [ὄ]τι, 'ὃ ἐμε[[τ]]σειτεύμεθα ἐν τῷ ἰ-  
 20 ερωῶ δ[ι]ὰ Τροφίμου λάβετε'. εἰς πάλιν ἀπολά-  
 βωμεν, δηλώσομέν σοι. δήλωσον ἡμεῖν εἰ θέ-  
 λεις ἐκ τοῦ κειμένου ἀποδοῦναι Ἀπφῦτι. κεῖται  
 μέχρ[ι] οὗ δηλώσεις [ἡ]μεῖν. ἔγραψας ἡμεῖν,  
 'τίς ἐστὶν ὁ κληρονόμος τοῦ τετελευτηκό(το)ς?'. ἐξη-  
 25 τάσαμεν καὶ εὗ[ρ]ομεν ὃν ἐτεκνοποίησατο,  
 ἀλλὰ οἱ περὶ Πετ[ο]σείριν εἰσὶν οἱ ἀναγκαῖοι. ἔδω-  
 κέν σοι Θέω[ν] ὁ πατὴρ Πετοσεῖριος κεράμι[ο]ν

col. ii

κρέως. οὐ γὰρ εὔρομεν  
 ἀσφαλῆ μέλλοντά  
 30 σοι αὐτὸ κομίσει. εἰς γὰρ  
 γράφης τῷ Θέωνι, δήλω-  
 σον αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐκομίσω

τὸ κεράμιον τῶν κρεῶν.  
 ἐὰν ἀνάβασις γένηται,  
 35 πέμψω σοι αὐτὸ διὰ τῶν  
 συνηθῶν ναυτικῶν.  
 ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν ἡμῶν  
 Παᾶπιω καὶ Θαῆσιω τὴν  
 θυγατέραν ἡμῶν. ἄ-  
 40 σπάζεται ὑμᾶς Cερῆνος  
 ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ  
 Διόσκορος καὶ Ὁφελίνη  
 καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἡράς.  
 ἃ ἔπεμψας χαρτάρια ἐδώ-  
 45 καμεν Θῶνι τῷ υἱῷ  
 Κεφαλάτος. ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς  
 εὐχόμεθα εἶ διαγ(οντας).  
 ὄρα μὴ ἀμελήσης περὶ ὧν  
 ἐδήλωσέ σοι Ἀπφύς.

2 υἱοῖς	3 ὑμας	5 ὑμων	6 ἱερωος; ἱ corr.	7 a of ἀπό corr.; ἡσοβς	8 ἡγ
10 ὑμων	12 l. ἡμῖν	13 ἱερωοςϛφ	15 l. ἡμῖν	16 ἡμῖν	16-17 l. ἡμῖν
18 ἡγ; l. ἡμῖν	19-20 ἱερω	21 l. ἡμῖν	23 l. [ἡ]μῖν, ἡμῖν	37 υἱον	39 l. θυγατέρα
40 ὑμας	41 ὑμων	45 l. Θῶνι; υἱῷ	46 ὑμας	47 διαγ	

'Coprys and Sinthonis to Sarapammon and Syra, their most honoured children, greetings. Before all things we pray for your health and we make your obeisance before your ancestral gods. We received six amphoras from Trophimus and the priest—and we are being asked for dr. 6 ob. 6 for freight from Dicomia and dr. 3 ob. 3 for customs—and a flask and 4 pairs of sandals, and from the dispatch carrier we received your letter and a cloth in which are gold leaves, which we have given to Trophimus. You told us that we should get dr. 500 from Petosiris the priest and these we have not recovered up to now. They do not refuse, for they said to us, 'We are collecting them'. They said, 'The sum is dr. 448'. So if this is the figure, let us know. For we are working on them, (saying) 'If you want to get the dr. 500 from us and give us a document, (you can do that)'. But they say, 'Accept what we have guaranteed by arbitration in the temple through Trophimus'. If we get the money back, we shall let you know. Let us know if you want to pay back Apphys from what you have on deposit. It remains on deposit until you let us know. You wrote to us, 'Who is the heir of the deceased?' We made enquiries and we discovered that it was the man he adopted, but Petosiris and his associates are the next of kin. Theon the father of Petosiris gave you a jar of meat. We could not find a safe person who would bring it to you. If you write to Theon, let him know that you received the jar of meats. If the flood comes, I shall send it to you by the usual boatmen. Salute our son Paapis and Thaesis our daughter. Serenus your brother salutes you, and Dioscorus and Opheline and Ptolemaeus and Heras. The pieces of papyrus which you sent we have given to Thonis the son of Cephalas. We pray for your health and well being.'

'See that you don't be careless about the matters which Apphys has communicated to you.'

1 *Κοπρῦς*. This form is new, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Aeternum*. It seems likely to be a phonetic version of masculine *Κοπρῆς* rather than an error for feminine *Κοπρούς*.

ζὰρ'ἀπάμμωνι. No suitable alternative name is known, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch d. gr. Eigennamen* 116, but the damage makes it uncertain what exactly went wrong with the writing of it here. The reading of the first two letters as ζα- seems very satisfactory; then there seems to be something more before -ἀπάμμωνι, which is clear, but the remains of the third letter are very meagre and narrow and show no sign of the usual decisive descender. It is deduced that rho was omitted and later supplied above the line.

Although the upsilon of *ζύρα*, a feminine name, is now faint, it seems impossible to read *ζαρᾶ*, which could be either gender, see 2 n.

2 *υἰοῖς*. The use of *υἰοί* for both sexes, 'children', is not so familiar as that of *ἀδελφοί* for 'siblings', because there are obvious alternatives, *παῖδες*, *τέκνα*, etc. The distinction is usually made, see here 37-9 ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν ἡμῶν Παῖπιν καὶ Θαῆεν τὴν θυγατέραν (= -τέρα) ἡμῶν. Although *υἰοί* often represents *κληρονόμοι*, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* ii 978-9 (= *ZPE* 7 (1971) 170-71), it is not often possible to see that daughters are included. As well as XXXIV 2711 4-6, adduced by Youtie, see BGU XII 2156. 2-3 *Σαραποδώρου* (= -ω) καὶ *Εὐχαριστεῖα* ... ἀδελφοῖς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων ..., υἰοῖς τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης Ἐρμογένους; 2164. 7 κατ[ὰ] κοινω[ν]ίαν [Ἐὐδο]ξίας (?; cf. 2171. 3 & n.) καὶ Θεοδώρας καὶ Θεο[δ]οσίας υἱῶν Φοιβάμμωνος; XX 2271 5-6 Ἡρακλῖα(νῶ) καὶ Πασιών(ι) [καὶ Καβ[εῖνα]] καὶ Καβεῖνα υἰοῖς Πασιών[ος]. In this last read Ἡρακλῖα (= -κλεία fem.) and Πασιών(ι), since there is no sign of abbreviation in either. (It may be that the writer was putting nominatives for datives here by oversight.) Again in XII 1451 25 υἰοῦς includes reference to a daughter.

Once more we need to bear in mind that terms of blood relationship were used freely beyond their strict meanings, see 3988 introd. para. 1.

4-5 See G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 193, 206. The formula is plausibly thought to indicate a letter from home to recipients travelling away from home. Yet Sinthonis is thought to be a peculiarly Oxyrhynchite name, cf. P. München III 140 introd., which may cast doubt on the theory, since this letter was found at Oxyrhynchus. But another possibility is that this is a file copy, see introd. para. 2. Further speculation seems unprofitable.

5-6 *έκομικάμεθα παρὰ Τροφίμου καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως*. One thinks for a moment that Trophimus and the priest are the senders, but they were probably agents only, cf. 9-10 *παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιστολαφόρου έκομικάμεθα γράμματα ὑμῶν*, especially since the authors of the letter have handed over to Trophimus goods received from the letter carrier (10-11), and because goods acknowledged in letters are usually those sent by the correspondents.

It is not clear if the priest is the same as Petosiris the priest in 12-13, nor is it clear if that man is the same as the Petosiris in 26-7. The circumstances of the reappearances of Trophimus in 11 and 20 rather suggest that he was a trusted agent of Sarapammon and Syra.

7 *ἀπὸ Δικωμίας*. According to A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* ii 103 this was probably a village of the Heracleopolite nome. To their references add LV 3807 35, which likewise gives no firm clue to its location. All the documents but 3807 and 3993 come from the Arsinoite nome or the Heracleopolite.

It may be that the goods were sent direct from Dicomia, but it is perhaps more likely that this was a point on the journey where they changed boats, i.e. the senders paid freight to their boatman as far as his destination, Dicomia. From that point the next carrier worked for 'cash on delivery'. Dicomia may also have been a customs station, cf. 8 n.

The symmetry of the figures should be noted: for six amphoras (of wine?; cf. L 3588 introd. and 6 n.) freight charges are dr. 6 ob. 6, customs duty is dr. 3 ob. 3.

(δρ.) 5 ὀβ. 5. Cf. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* Ch. I, pp. 1-12. The only silver coin was the tetradrachm, equivalent on the silver standard theoretically to four drachmas of six obols each. Where the drachma appears with a value of more than six obols, it is because payments in the subsidiary bronze coinage are involved. Because the bronze was inconvenient, it was natural that more of it had to be paid, usually ob. 28 to equate with the tetradrachm, i.e. the so-called 'seven-obol drachma'.

8 *τέλους*. For internal customs charges see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 258-71.

*ἀμβούλλαν*. This appears to be the Latin word *ampulla*, cf. BGU I 40. 2 (*ἀνπούλλης*; cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 171), P. Lond. II 191. 16 (p. 265), SB VI 9238. 19, 9350 (= P. Lund IV 14). 15, [26] (all *ἀμπούλλιον*, cf. Gignac op. cit. i 219). The form is probably a simple phonetic error, β for π after μ, cf.



Gignac *op. cit.* i 83. The etymology from *bullā* is not likely to be implied, see Isid. 20. 5. 5 *ampulla quasi ampla bulla: similis est enim rotunditate bullis quae ex spumis aquarum fiunt atque ita inflantur uento*; cf. G. Goetz, *CGL* V 166. 14.

κολίων. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 508. 5 n.

9 ἐπιστολαφόρον. This person would have been a carrier of official letters. We know of them in public service at the village level, see P. Petaus 84 introd., and at the metropolis level, see XLIII 3095 9–10 and n., with N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 29. Private persons had to make their own arrangements for sending letters. It seems natural that in this case they made the arrangement with an official so useful for the purpose.

10 ῥάκος. The use of this word to mean a cloth wrapper is not familiar. Compare perhaps I 117 12–16 ἔπεμψα ... ῥάκη δύο, κατασκευημμένα [τ]ῆ φραγεῖδί μου, ἐξ ὧν δώσεις τοῖς παιδίοις σου ἐν ἐξ αὐτῶν, 'I sent ... two cloths, sealed with my seal, of which you are to give your children one {of them}'. These are probably parcels like ours. The word ῥάκος, 'rag', would hardly be appropriate to a present of useful or decorative textiles.

11 πέταλα χρυσά. This might certainly mean gold leaf for gilding, see P. Lund IV 7 (=SB VI 9321), P. Köln I 52. 13–14, SB XIV 11959. 36. To wrap such fragile stuff in cloth might seem unsafe, but the cloth could be the outer wrapper only and there would be no need to refer to any other packing. Thicker than gilder's leaf would be the gold leaves sometimes used for writing magical texts, see XLII 3068 2 and introd. with H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 280–81. These probably do not exhaust the possibilities.

12–21 The business matter here is obscure for us because it was so clearly understood by the writers that they mention only details and not essentials. They had been instructed to collect dr. 500 from Petosiris the priest, who had associates, as the plurals in 14–19 reveal. The amount was disputed, Petosiris and his party saying that it should be only dr. 448, but they did not refuse point blank to pay; they temporized and said that they were collecting it (14–16). The writers offered to pay the dr. 500 in return for a written acknowledgement or contract from Petosiris and his party, but they, evidently still disputing the amount, offered to pay what they claimed to have guaranteed under arbitration in a temple (17–20).

14 εἶπαν. For the ending cf. 3988 4 n.

γάρ. The writer uses γάρ in a loose sense here and later: ἔλεγον γάρ (15), εἰ [ο]ὖν γάρ εἰς αὐταὶ (16), οὐ γὰρ εὐρομεν (28), ἐὰν γὰρ γράψῃς (30–31); cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* 61. It has been omitted from the translation at these places. In εἶπαν γάρ (14–15) and περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦς ἐς μεν (17), we can translate it as 'for' in the usual way.

15 For ὅτι introducing direct speech see LVI 3855 7 n. Cf. 15 (end), 17, 19.

ἔλεγον. The imperfect tense possibly indicates that this statement antedated the one introduced by εἶπαν γάρ: translate possibly, 'For they told us ... Before that they said ...'

17 περὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦς ἐς μεν ὅτι. For εἶναι περὶ τί, 'to be busy with something', see LSJ *περὶ* C.3. Used of persons it seems unfamiliar.

17–18 For the absence of the apodosis, which is an idiom, see LV 3813 72–4 n.

19 ἐμε[[τ]σειτεύμεθα. The sigma is a large lunate blot over the original tau. Emend probably to the perfect μεμεσειτεύμεθα, assuming the replacement of reduplication by the syllabic augment, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 243–4, rather than the omission of omicron from the imperfect ἐμεσειτενόμεθα.

21 σοί. From this point the letter is written as if directed to one of the pair of addressees only, with a few exceptions (ὑμᾶς 40, ὑμῶν 41, ὑμᾶς 46); the postscript returns to the singular (48–9). Cf. 35 n.

24–6 Since the *heir* is contrasted with those who are connected by blood (*ἀναγκαῖοι*), it seems likely that *τεκνοποιεῖσθαι* here means 'to adopt', as it seems to do also only in the damaged context of UPZ I 4. 5, cf. UPZ I 3. Otherwise in the papyri it usually means 'to beget', e.g. P. Eleph. I. 9, P. München III 62. 5, P. Sakaon 41. 5, SB XII 11053 C 10.

If the Petosiris here is the same as the priest of the same name in 12–13, this may be part of the same business as in 12–21, but it appears to be separated from it by the question of the repayment of Apphys which occupies 21–3.

26–33 κεράμι[ο]ν κρέως ... τὸ κεράμιον τῶν κρεῶν. Cf. P. Genova I 49. 7–8 κεράμια β, ἐν κρέος (= κρέως), ἐν γλυκελεῶν (= γλυκελαιῶν). The jar would probably have contained pieces of preserved meat, cf. XVIII 2190 62–3 καὶ ταριχηρὰ κρέα ρῆς,

34 ἀνάβασις. This mention of the imminence of the Nile flood indicates that the letter was written in mid-summer, probably shortly before the middle of July.

35 πέμφω. Here the writer lapses for once into the singular for the senders. Cf. 21 n.

39 θυγατέραν (l. -τέρα). See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 45-6.

42 The name Ὠφελίνη is new, i.e. not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

44 χαρτάρια. The translation has 'pieces of papyrus', but since diminutives so often in the vernacular mean the same as the normal form, and χάρτης means 'papyrus roll', it is possible that χαρτάρια here refers to rolls, see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 70-78, esp. 77. No unambiguous example of it in that sense has been identified, but a very strong implication of such a use is seen in P. Mich. inv. 1655 = SB XVI 12591, as was argued in the first edition by H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 105-7, cf. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity: A Supplement* (Pap. Brux. 23) 40.

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### 3994. CALOCAERUS TO EUPHROSYNE

No inv. no.

10.5 × 12 cm

Early third century

This is the letter of a suspicious husband. He was writing to a woman whom he addressed as his sister, asking her to find out what his wife was doing, since she would not write to him and was in possession of all the property which he owned. He sent greetings to another 'sister' and offered to send her anything that she needed from the place where he was. On the uncertainties caused by the customary free use of the terms of blood relationship see **3988** introd., but it is quite possible that the letter was in fact sent to the man's sisters.

The almost square scrap of papyrus was seemingly cut from a blank area in a used document and the fragmentary line in a different hand on the verso is a remnant of the previous use, since it was mutilated when the piece was cut to this shape, see also 17 n. The letter is written across the fibres of the recto of the original roll, as is shown by a sheet-join running under line 9, the overlap being downwards. When written the letter was rolled up with the top inside, a process which also concealed the half line which already stood on the back. The resulting little roll was squashed flat, the exposed bottom edge was tucked inside to protect it, and a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package. Then on one side the address was written in two parts straddling the binding.

The cursive writing is untidy and slopes backwards in places, but it is practised. It looks like the hand of a private person, rather than that of a professional letter-writer. It probably belongs to the early third century.

Καλόκαιρος Εὐφροσύνη [τ.]

τῇ ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν.

παρακληθεῖσα, ἀδελφή, εἰάν μοί

τι θέ[λῃς] χάρισθαι, περιέργασαι

5 τί πράσσει Ἀλεῖς ἢ γυνή μου. εἰ καὶ

μὴ ἔγεγραφήκειν σοι [[σοι]], ὥφειλες ἀ-  
 πὸ σεαυτῆς γράφειν μοι ὡς ἀδελ-  
 φῶ σου. οὐκ ἐπὶ μέλει μοι περὶ αὐ-  
 τῆς, ἀλλὰ εἴ τι ἔχω παρ' αὐτῇ ἐστιν.  
 10 καὶ τῷ μὴ γράφειν μοι αὐτήν, ἐ-  
 κ τούτου προλαμβάνω ἄλλω' εἰ πε-  
 ρὶ αὐτῆς. ἀσπάζου Θαϊσοῦν τὴν  
 ἀδελφήν καὶ εἰπέ αὐτῇ, εἰάν τινο[ς  
 χρήσει ἐνθάδε, γράψα[ι] μοι.  
 15 ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχ[ομ(αι)]. (vac.)

Back, along the fibres: ἀπόδος Εὐ- (vac.) φροσύν(η) ἀδελφῆ.

Back, along the fibres, upside down to 16: (m. 2) Διοσ]κορᾶτος (?).

8 l. ἐπεὶ      16 εὐ (vac.) φροσῦ

‘Calocaerus to Euphrosyne his sister, greetings. Please, sister, if you want to do me a favour, enquire what my wife Aleis is doing. Even if I had not written to you, you ought of your own accord to have written to me, as I am your brother. Not that I care about her, but all that I possess is under her control. And the fact that she doesn't write to me—from that I have a presentiment of trouble about her. Salute Thaisus my sister and tell her, if she needs anything here, to write to me. I pray for your health.’

Back, along the fibres: ‘Deliver to Euphrosyne my sister.’

Back, along the fibres, upside down to the address: ‘...Dioscoras (?).’

1 [[τ.]]. These letters are struck through. Probably the writer started on the eta of τῆ and then decided to begin the word again in line 2.

6 μὴ ἔγεγραφήκειν. See 3991 24–5 and n.

11 ἄλλω' εἰ. See *LSJ* s.v. ἄλλως *ad fin.* ‘otherwise than right, wrongly’.

15 It seems that εὐχομαι was abbreviated, probably by writing mu above omicron.

16 At the mid-point there is only a blank where the binding was, instead of the usual signs of patterning, cf. 3988 introd. *ad fin.*

17 Διοσ]κορᾶτος. This is in a large clumsy hand. Since it was on the verso even when the papyrus was used for this letter, see introd., it may be that the first use was for another letter of which this was part of the address, e.g. ἀπόδος τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ Διοσ]κορᾶτος. In that case the piece was cut from the blank foot of a tall narrow letter probably of the same width as the height of this one, c. 12 cm. This is the only possible name, provided that the doubtful letters are correctly read, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der gr. Eigennamen* 140.

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### 3995. PETOSIRIS TO PLUTARCHUS

47 5B.47/C(5–8)a

12.5 × 7 cm

Early third century

This complete little chit, blank on the back, has no more than four and a half lines. It opens with a normal letter prescript and stops short without a farewell formula

after a polite request for the loan of a donkey to transport half an artaba of loaves of bread. Probably it is just a swift note, dashed off and sent by a messenger who knew the recipient's address, but it could be a draft, abandoned because the sender was displeased by the roughness of the writing and perhaps also by the phonetic spelling and the obscure grammar of the last clause.

A sheet join c. 5.5 cm from the left edge shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll from which this piece came. The top and the right edges are fairly straight apart from slight damage, the left and bottom edges, where the damage is only a little worse, were carelessly cut or broken.

Πετοσίρις Πλουτάρχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
 εὖ ποήσεις, ἀδελφε, χρήσον τὸ ὄνᾱρὶν σου,  
 αἰπιδὴ ἀναφέρουσίν μοι ἱμιαρτάβιον  
 ψωμίων, ἵνα φθάνουσι ἀποκαταστήσαι  
 5 αὐτὸ σήμερον.

2 1. ποήσεις, ρ of χρήσον corr., ρ of τὸ corr. from ω; 1. ὄνᾱριον 3 1. ἐπειδὴ; ἱμιαρταβιον, 1. ἡμιαρτάβιον  
 4 ἵνα; 1. φθάνωσι?

'Petosiris to Plutarchus his brother, greetings. Do me a favour, brother, and lend (me) your donkey, because they are bringing half an artaba of loaves of bread up to me, so that they may get it delivered today.'

2 εὖ ποήσεις (= -σεις) χρήσον. For the imperative in this sort of formula see H. Steen, 'Les clichés épistolaires', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 1 (1938) 142-3.

ὄνᾱριον (= -ᾱριον). Cf. 3988 5 n. for the form. Diminutives are characteristic of colloquial Greek, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 304 (= *TAPA* 89 (1958) 394) and n. 77, so that there is no need to suppose that the donkey was a little one, although the half artaba that it was to carry would not be a full load for a donkey; a normal full load would be about 3 artabas, see H. C. Youtie, *op. cit.* ii 920 (= *Berytus* 8. 2 (1944) 90) and n. 42.

3 αἰπιδὴ (= ἐπειδὴ). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 193 (αι for ε), 189-90 (ι for ε).

ἀναφέρουσιν. Compounds of ἀνά may refer to movement (a) from north to south (i.e. upstream with reference to the Nile), (b) up from the Nile valley to the desert, (c) up from a village to its district capital, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 493 (= *HTR* 41 (1948) 15) and n. 36. Perhaps (c) is most likely here, that is, the bread was to be carried up to the city of Oxyrhynchus from a country place.

ἱμιαρτάβιον (= ἡμι-). Cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 236 (ι for η).

4-5 The meaning and construction of the last clause are doubtful. Since ἀποκαθίστημι most commonly refers to the return of loans, we at first expect αὐτό to refer to the borrowed donkey, cf. e.g. P. Fouad 28. 19. If φθάνουσι really does represent the indicative, this may be an example of the rare causal meaning of ἵνα, see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>15</sup> 386-7 (§456 n. 2), B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 264-5 (§590). If so, the present tense probably has a future force, as often, 'because they (will) hurry to return it (the donkey) today'.

If the indicative form really represents the subjunctive, as often, see Gignac, *op. cit.* ii 358-9, and ἵνα has its usual meaning, then we have to take ἀποκαθίστημι to mean 'deliver', which it does in contexts where the delivery is part of an obligation, such as a rent, tax, or levy, and take αὐτό to refer to the half-artaba of bread. This has been adopted as the easier alternative in the translation.

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## 3996. SERENUS TO TAPSAIS

47 5B.42/F(1-2)b

12.5 × 15.5

Third century

Serenus writes to Tapsais as his mother (1, 16), which in this case she may well have been in spite of the widespread use of terms of relationship outside the family, cf. 3988 introd. para. 1. He seems to have been away from home, see ἐμοῦ ἐξερχομένου (11-12), and asks if she has finished making some clothes. He sends two jars of what was probably soap, *σμῆμα*, see 9 n., one for Tapsais and one for a lady called Harpocratiaena; these look like presents. An interesting point is that he asks for part of the letter to be read to Harpocratiaena, 'so that it does not appear that I have been neglectful'. It is not a certain conclusion that she was unable to read, see 3997 introd. para 1 and 42 n., but that may well have been the case.

The writing is a good sized rapid and fluent cursive of the third century. There is no change of hand for the farewell formula, but it is impossible to say whether this is the hand of Serenus himself or that of a professional letter writer.

The letter has the appearance of being written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, although there is no sheet join to prove it and in several places prominent fibres can be followed from the left edge to the right. The back is blank, without any trace of an address, which could mean that the carrier did not need an address or perhaps that the letter travelled inside a package.

5 *Κερῆνος Ταψάϊτι τῇ μητρὶ χ[ (αίρειν).  
 καὶ ἄλλοτέ σοι ἔγραψα δηλώσαι μ[οι εἴ  
 τί σοι Πανίσκος ἔλθων τότε ἔδ[ωκε  
 χαλκοῦ, καὶ εἰ ἀπήρτισας τὰ ἱμ[άτια,  
 καὶ πόσον ἔδαπάνησας. μὲ δ[ὲ μὴ  
 μέμψαι. τοσαυτάκις γὰρ ἐμοῦ γ[ρά-  
 ψαντος αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ διὰ λόγων μοῦ  
 ἐμνήσθη{ν}. ἐξ ὧν ἔπεμψα  
 10 δυεῖν στάμνων σμήματος  
 δὸς ἓνα Ἀρποκρατιαίνῃ. νῦν γὰρ  
 ἐμνήσθητι ὅτι [[αὐτῆς]] ἐμοῦ ἐ[[χ]]ξερ-  
 [[.]]χομένου περὶ τούτου μοι ἐπέθετο.  
 καὶ ἀναγνωσθήτω αὐτῇ τοῦτο τὸ  
 μέρος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ  
 15 με ἡμεληκέναι. [ἄ]πασαι τοὺς ἡ-  
 μῶν πάντα. ἐρρώσθαί σε εὐχ(ομαι) μῆτ(ερ).*

14 ἵνα?

16 ευχ, μητ

'Serenus to Tapsais, his mother, greetings. I wrote to you previously to let me know if Paniscus gave you any money when he came, and if you finished the cloaks, and how much you spent. But do not blame me, for although I wrote to him so many times, he did not remember me even in conversation. Give one of the two jars of soap(?) I sent to Harpocratiaena, for now I have remembered that she gave me instructions about this when I was leaving, and read this part of the letter to her, so that it does not appear that I have been neglectful. Greet all our people. I pray for your health, mother.'

1 There seems to be too little space for *χαίρειν* in full. Perhaps the most likely form of abbreviation is  $\chi\varsigma$ , cf. e.g. LVI 3852 2.

5-6  $\mu\epsilon\ \delta[\epsilon\ \mu\eta]\ \mu\epsilon\mu\psi\alpha\iota$ . It is surprising to find  $\mu\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  where the emphasis is so strong, in spite of the well known fluctuation of the forms and such frequent expressions as  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon$  and  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon$ , cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 161-2. In 7  $\mu\omicron\upsilon$  seems to be emphatic too.

8  $\epsilon\mu\nu\eta\varsigma\theta\eta\{\nu\}$ . For superfluous nasals see Gignac, *Grammar* i 112-4.

9  $\delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ . Even rarer is the classical  $\delta\upsilon\omicron\iota\nu$ , and apart from this word the dual is unknown in the papyri, cf. LI 3611 7 n. For  $\delta\upsilon\omicron\iota\nu$ , however, add CPR V 9. 18 (AD 339).

$\varsigma\mu\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . This is the classical form of the word and the one usual in the papyri, although  $\zeta\mu\eta\mu\alpha$  and  $\varsigma\mu\eta\gamma\mu\alpha$  appear infrequently, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 122(c), P. Herm. 38. 3 n., which also observes that the meaning is rather general. The word appears in the papyri in agricultural contexts, referring to substances for use, seemingly, on vines (P. Herm. 38. 6) or on sheep (P. Lond. I 113(4). 18-19: p. 209). One variety, for an unknown use, was made with castor oil ( $\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ : J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 144-5). It seems to refer to any oily or greasy compound which was used by smearing it on. In this context soap for the ladies' personal use seems to be the most likely meaning, see Theoc. 15. 30, with A. S. F. Gow's commentary, ii 276-7.

11-12  $\epsilon\{\chi\}\xi\epsilon\rho\{\cdot\}\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ . The second correction is not clear. It seems to have involved rewriting the first three letters of 12 and the resulting form of mu remains anomalous, cf. 14-15 n.

13-15 Cf. introd. para. 1.

14-15 At the beginnings unsatisfactory forms of mu have been rewritten, cf. 11-12 n.

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### 3997. HERACLES TO CERDON

74/35(a) + 36(a)

11.5 × 20.5 cm

Third/fourth century

This is a letter with several minor points of interest. There are two references to the unidentified vegetable substance called *κάγγαθον*, here in the plural, which is unusual, and in a form, *ὀλίγα κάγγαθα καλά* (37; cf. *περὶ τῶν καγγάθων*, 41), which makes the neuter gender clear for the first time, cf. LI 3618 12 n. on *ξυλοκάγγαθον*. The supposedly poetical word *γραῖα*, 'old woman', occurs here (42) for the fourth time in the prosaic papyri. The greeting sent to *τὸν ἀναγιγώσκοντα* (42), shows that Heracles expected his letter to be read to, rather than by, Cerdon. The references to god in the singular suggest that this is a Christian letter, although this is not a sure criterion, see M. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo* 7-10. Its writing and phraseology suggest that it is of the late third or more probably the early fourth century.

In 1-36 the writing runs along the fibres, probably those of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, although there is no sheet join to prove it. A farewell formula was put at the foot in 35-6, but then a single line postscript was added, written downwards in the left margin, as often, cf. LV 3814 29-30 n., 3998 36-8. Next

six more lines of greeting with a second farewell formula were added on the back: they are written downwards along the fibres and occupy a position corresponding to the ends of the lines on the front, i.e. a substantial margin of c. 8 cm, about two thirds of the width of the sheet, was left above them. Then the letter was rolled up from the right hand side in the way normally used for rolls, which concealed the writing on the back as well as that on the front. The little roll was squashed flat, the left edge was tucked inside for protection, and a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package. The address was written on one side in two sections to left and right of the binding and a pattern was inked over the binding. The removal of the binding by the recipient has removed some of the pattern.

Ἡρακλῆς [Κέρδω]νι ἀδελφῶ πλίστα χέρειν. πρὸ μὲν  
 πάν<των> εὐ[χομα]ί σε ὀλόκληρον ἀπολαβεῖν ἅμα  
 τῇ γλυ[κ]υτά<τη> Ταφύγχι θυγατρός σου. θαυμά-  
 ζω πῶς οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστολήν μοι ἔγραψας. ἐγὼ  
 5 δὲ πολλάκις σοι ἔγραψα ἐπιζητῶν σου τῆς  
 φιλίας, σὺ δὲ μίαν μοι μόνον ἔγραψας, οὐ-  
 δὲ πάλιν ἐμοὶ ἔγραψας, ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρί μου ἔγρα-  
 ψας, οὐκ ὀλίγως ἀπιλῶν μοι. θεὸς δὲ μόνος  
 οἶδε ὅτι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὸ προ<ς>κύ-  
 10 νημά σου ποιῶ, ἥτε παρ' ἀνθρώποις, ἥτε παρὰ  
 θεῶ. ἐπεθύμησα γάρ σε προσκυνῆσαί σε καὶ  
 διὰ γραμμάτων ἔστ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς δώσει τῆ(ν)  
 καλὴν ὁδὸν καὶ προσκυνήσωμεν ἀλλή-  
 15 λους. οἶδε γὰρ ὁ Κρανᾶς ὅτι πῶς αὐτὸν ἐ-  
 ξετάζω περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἠξιώμην αὐ-  
 τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώ<της> φοράς, ἵνα ἐνέ-  
 κη σοί τι καὶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθη, διότι ἐκὶ ἦν  
 Ἡρων ὁ δεσπότης τῶν καμήλων. καὶ  
 νῦν αὐτὸν ἠξίωσα καὶ τέτακτέ μοι.  
 20 ἐὰν οὖν λά<βω>, πέμπω σοί τι. καὶ οὖν πρό-  
 τρεφον αὐτὸν ἵνα ἀνόκνωσ ἡμῖ(ν)  
 γένη[ται] καὶ γράψον μοι τί χρήσεις  
 καὶ δι[ὰ τί]νος θέλεις πε' ἴπω. οὐδὲς . . . .  
 κτ[. . . .]ειν παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ γράψον

- 25 c. 12 letters ] ὑμῶν πάντων  
 c. 15 letters ] .τ. ἠκούσαμε(ν)  
 c. 15 letters ] θυγατρὸς περὶ  
 . . . . . ἀσπάζου Ἀμ]μῶνιον τὸν ἀδε[λ-  
 φὸν καὶ c. 9 letters ] .αν καὶ Ἡρᾶν καὶ  
 30 c. 8 letters καὶ τοὺς] ἡμῶν πάντας  
 c. 15 letters ] .λαυρα ημω. . .  
 c. 15 letters ] . . . ἀσπάζου  
 c. 15 letters ] .πιον καὶ ὄλουσ  
 τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ καὶ γ]ράψον περὶ τῆς  
 35 ὀλοκληρίας ὑμῶ]ν. ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς  
 εὔχομαι. (vac.?) ] (vac.)

In the left margin, downwards across the fibres:

πέμψον ἡμῖν ὀλίγα κάναθα καλά, ὅσα ἐὰν εὔρ[ησ. (vac.?)

Back, downwards along the fibres:

- ἀσπάζετε ὑμᾶς Κοπρῆς ὁ υἱὸς Ἀμμωνοῦσ ονου. . . . . [ c. 10 letters  
 ἀσπάζετε ὑμᾶς Τοπαστᾶσ καὶ Ἀφοῦσ καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦσ καὶ Ἑλένη  
 40 καὶ ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ. ἀσπάζετε ἡ Ἑλένη τὴν θυγατέραν σου.  
 μὴ ἀμελήσῃσ περὶ τῶν σαγγάθων. ἀσπάζου Χεναμοῦν τὴν  
 γραῖαν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆσ καὶ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα.  
 ἐρρώσθε [ὑμᾶ]ς εὔχόμεθα.

Address: ἀπόδ(οσ) Κέρδωνι ἀδελφῶ (design) πα(ρὰ) Ἡρακ[λέουσ.

- |  |                      |                           |                   |
|--|----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 l. πλεῖστα χαίρειν                       | 2 ὀλόκληρον: λ corr. | 3 l. Ταφύγχει θυγατρί     | 7 ἀλλά: λλ corr.  |
| 8 l. ἀπειλῶν: ῶ corr. (from ι?)            | 10 l. εἴτε, εἴτε     | 12 l. δώση?; τῆ           | 13-14 l. ἀλλήλουσ |
| 15 ὑμων; l. ἡξιούμην                       | 16 ἴνα               | 16-17 l. ἐνέγκη           | 17 l. ἐκεῖ        |
| 19 l. τέτακται                             | 21 ἴνα,              |                           |                   |
| ημῖ  | 23 l. θέλεισ, οὐδεῖσ | 25 ὑμων?                  | 26 ηκουσαμῆ       |
| 35 ὑμασ                                    | 37 l. κάγγαθα        |                           |                   |
| 38 l. ἀσπάζεται; ὑμασ, υἱοσ; l. Ἀμμωνοῦτοσ | 39 l. ἀσπάζεται      | 40 l. ἀσπάζεται, θυγατέρα |                   |
| 41 l. σαγγάθων                             | 43 l. ἐρρώσθαι       | 44 ἀπό, πα'               |                   |

'Heracles to Cerdon his brother, very many greetings. Before all I pray to get you back in sound health, together with your sweetest daughter Taphynchis. I am surprised that you did not write me a letter. I wrote often to you, yearning for your friendship, while you wrote me only one letter, and didn't write



again to me, but wrote to my father, threatening me not a little. God alone knows that I make your obeisance every day either in the presence of men or in the presence of god (alone?). For I longed to salute you even by letter, until god gives (you) a good journey and we salute one another. For Cranas knows how I question him closely about you and your people and I kept asking him from the first trip to take something to you and he could not, because Heron, the owner of the camels, was there. And now I have asked him and permission has been granted me. So if (I get anything?), I shall send you something. So urge him to come to us without hesitation and write me what you need and by whom you wish me to send (it). ... Greet (?) Ammonius my brother and ... and Heras and ... and all our people. ... Greet ... and all in the household and write about your health. I pray for your health.

Left margin: 'Send us a few nice *sangatha*, as many as you can find.'

Back: 'Copres the son of Ammonus greets you ... Topastas greets you, as do Aphas and Ammonus and Helen and (your?, their?) father and mother. Helen greets your daughter. Don't forget about the *sangatha*. Greet Chenamun, the old lady, and her children, and the man who reads you the letter. We pray for your health.'

Address: 'Deliver to Cerdon my brother, from Heracles.'

1-2 *πρὸ μὲν πάντων*. Also frequent is *πρὸ μὲν παντός*.

5-6 *ἐπιζητῶν ... τῆς φίλιας*. This verb usually governs an accusative; here it takes the genitive like some verbs of desiring, e.g. *ἐπιθυμῶ, ἐφίεμαι*. Perhaps, therefore, 'yearning for' is nearer the meaning than 'missing'.

9-11 On the *προσκύνημα* see G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 3-211. It is not known what ceremony precisely is implied by references to the *προσκύνημα* in papyri and inscriptions or whether a mention in a letter usually means that a ceremony really was performed, see Geraci, *op. cit.* 201-2, cf. LV 3809 3-7 n., but *παρά* is usually followed by a reference to a god, in later times to the Christian god. With *παρ' ἀνθρώποις* compare P. Lond. III 1244 (p. 244; = M. Naldini, *Il cristianesimo* No. 58). 3-4 *προηκουμένως* (l. *προηγ-*) *πολλά σε προσαγορεύω νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέραις τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις προσκυνῆσαι* (l. *προσκ-*) *σοι* (l. *σου*) *τὸ [ε]ὔμορφον καὶ ἰλαρὸν πρόσωπον πρω[τ]ύπως* (l. *πρωτοτύπως*). Both texts seem to indicate the decay of the ceremony. Perhaps there may be a distinction between prayers in a public place of worship, *παρ' ἀνθρώποις*, and in private, *παρὰ θεῷ*.

11 *σε ... σε*. The repetition of personal pronouns is a feature of the colloquial style of the language of the documentary papyri, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* ii 847, cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>15</sup> 229 (§278).

12 *δώσει*. The parallelism of the construction *ἔστ' ἄν ... δώσει ... καὶ προσκυνήσωμεν* indicates that a subjunctive is wanted. Probably this is the iotacistic equivalent of *δώσειη*, formed by analogy with *λύσει* etc., cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 386-7, but the absence of an indirect object is also slightly awkward, so that it might represent *δῶσει*, where *ει* is the iotacistic equivalent of *σοι*. The fact that *σοι, μοι, and ἐμοί* appear correctly in the rest of the letter makes this last suggestion less likely.

14 *ὁ Κρανᾶς*. This name is unknown. It is a remote possibility that we ought to be interpreting the letters as *ὁ κρανάς*, 'he who ordained' or perhaps as a gnomic aorist, 'he who rules', as a reference to god, but the Christian dictionaries (W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum neuen Testament*, G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*) do not record the poetic verb *κραίνω*, and a further objection is that in 15-17 this personage was unable to do something which was asked of him, which does not suit a pious reference to god.

15 *ἡξιώμην* (l. *ἡξιούμην*). For the false contraction see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 364-5. The middle voice of this verb is regularly confined to the senses 'deign, think fit', cf. LSJ s.v. *ἀξιῶ* III. 2. Compare and contrast *ἡξίωσα* (19).

16 *ἀπὸ τῆς πρώ[ ]της φορᾶς*. After omega there are traces of a damaged letter, not deleted, which might be sigma; cf. perhaps XXXI 2600 2 *πράστιν* for *πράττειν* (or *πράττειν*), with P. Petaus 10. 6 n. on interchange between *σσ* and *ττ*.

The meaning may be 'for the first time', cf. LSJ s.v. *φορά* A.6, but the relevance of this is not clear and in this context involving transport by camel (18) we should compare the numbered *φοραί* which refer to delivery journeys in accounts of transport, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 299-300 (= *ZPE* 21 (1976) 29-30), ii 517 (= *ZPE* 33 (1979) 205).

16-17 *ἐνέκη* (l. *ἐνέκη*). At the end of line 16 the crossbar of epsilon is extended and it seems that nothing more was added. For the variety of forms in this verb see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 364, ii 448 s.v.

φέρω. The omission of nasals is a particularly common phonetic error, see Gignac, *op. cit.* i 111–119, esp. 116.

17–18 διότι ἐκί (l. ἐκεῖ) ἦν Ἡρώων, ‘because Heron ... was there’. The meaning might be that Heron was elsewhere, not ‘here’, and therefore unavailable to give permission, in which case αὐτόν in 19 refers to Heron, or it might mean that he was present and therefore an obstacle, in which case αὐτόν in 19 would refer back to Cranas.

19 ἤξιώσα. Contrast ἤξιώμην (15).

τέτακτέ (l. τέτακταί) μοι. The verb may be passive, ‘it has been settled for me’, as in the translation, ‘permission has been granted me’, or possibly it might be middle, ‘he has agreed it with me’, see LSJ s.v. τάσσω III.3b.

20 λά<βω>. The omitted matter may have been more substantial; the meaning is not very clear.

καὶ οὖν is ‘a very rare combination’, J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> 445.

22 For γίνεσθαι, ‘to come, go’, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 493 (= *ZPE* 31 (1978) 175) n. line 4.

23 δι[ὰ τί]νος θέλει (l. θέλει) πέμπω. If the restoration is right, πέμπω is a deliberative subjunctive depending directly on θέλει, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 257 (§573).

25 ἡμών. Traces above the line resemble a diaeresis, which suggests this word, cf. app. 15, 35, 38.

31 λαυρα looks like λαύρα or λαύρα. Its application to the districts of Oxyrhynchus died out after the early second century, when it was replaced by ἄμφοδον, see S. Daris, *ZPE* 16 (1975) 25–6. It was still so used in other places. Other possibilities are that it means just ‘street’ in general, or perhaps ‘monastery’, cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v., but this use seems to be very rare in Egypt: only SB III 6255. 3–4 (AD 515)? A plausible sense would be ‘(greet) ... all those living in our street’, but no close parallel has been found.

36 Also possible is εὐχόμεθα, cf. 43, and a little more may have followed, e.g. ἀδελφε, or κύριε.

37 ὀλίγα κάργαθα (l. κάργαθα) καλά, cf. 41. See introd. for the gender. In LI 3618 12 n. it is suggested that ξυλοκάργαθον may be a plant allied to berberis and used in that case to make charcoal to serve the forges of the Alexandrian mint. There ξ. appears in the singular and is measured in κεντηνάρια, hundredweights of Roman pounds (λίτραι). Elsewhere κάργαθον is always singular and is sometimes measured in pounds. The use of the plural remains unexplained: it could imply, perhaps, that complete individual plants were wanted.

39 Τσαστᾶς is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

42 γραῖαν. Cf. P. München III 120. 15 and n. This is now the fourth appearance in the papyri, cf. introd. para. 1.

τὸν ἀναγιώσκοντα. Cf. introd. para. 1. There may be a suggestion that the task of reading Heracles’ letters to Cerdon was usually performed by the same man, whom Heracles knew slightly but not well enough to remember his name. Or perhaps the reader would be an anonymous slave. Or perhaps there was just a likelihood that whoever read it to him would be a mutual friend.

This may bear on the subject of literacy in Graeco-Roman Egypt, but it is not clear what the circumstances were. Although illiteracy was far from rare, it is possible that Cerdon was not illiterate but simply in the habit of having his letters read to him, cf. 3996 introd. para. 1. On the whole subject see now W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*. It seems unlikely, on the other hand, that τὸν ἀναγιώσκοντα would be referring to a Christian ἀναγνώστης.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3998. THONIS TO SYRAS AND CALLINICUS

32 4B.3/K(3)a

15 × 25.5 cm

Fourth century

In the prescript Thonis calls his correspondents ‘my lords children’, but in the rest of the letter he addresses himself to his ‘daughter’, Syras; a plausible guess might

be that Syras really was his daughter and that Callinicus was his son in law. On the loose use of terms of family relationship, see **3988** introd. para. 1.

As usual in private letters the circumstances are hard to understand. Thonis explains that in spite of a contractual duty to return before the twentieth of the month of Phamenoth, forced upon him by 'the Oxyrhynchites', he is obliged by the death of another member of the family, 'the husband of your sister Theodora', to stay away, and expects the delay to be prolonged until the second of the following month (Pharmuthi). He will make every effort to come as soon as he can. He acknowledges a letter from Syras and then goes on to the second main topic of his letter.

Someone has paid money for certain goods, but not yet taken possession of them, and he urges Syras to get hold of them. Damage here makes the exact sense uncertain. Then follow exchanges of greetings and the farewell formula, but a postscript, consisting mostly of an interesting itemized list of the goods, has been added in three long lines written downwards in the left margin across the fibres, cf. **3997** introd. para. 2.

The body of the letter is written along the fibres on a surface which was the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut, as proved by a sheet join running vertically close to the right edge. On the back is a damaged address in which only remains of *τῇ θυγατρὶ* can be identified, and signs of two patterns of the type associated with the packaging of letters. They show that the letter had two bindings, one about 7 cm from the foot and the other the same distance from the top. The piece was rolled up with the left edge of the letter proper inside, not the right edge, as was natural with longer rolls and usual even with letters. Then the roll was squashed flat and the free edge was tucked inside for its protection. Two bindings were tied around it, c. 7 cm from the ends, with c. 11.5 cm between them. Patterns were inked over the bindings and the address was written on one side of the package. Of this *τῇ θυγα-* is dimly legible between the binding patterns, ending very close to one of them. More traces of the address follow beyond that binding and extend to the edge which corresponds with the top of the letter. Before *τῇ* the traces are even scantier, so that it is difficult to discover where the address began.

Θῶνις Ζυράτι καὶ Καλλινίκῳ τοῖς κυρί-  
οις μο[υ] τέκνοις ἐν θεῶ κυρίῳ

πλίστα χαίραι. (vac.)

τὸ προσκύνημα ὑμῶν ποιῶ καθ' ἐ-  
5 κάστην ἡμέρ[α]ν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῶ. γινώ-  
σκιν σε θέλω ὅτι κατεσχέθην ὑπὸ τῶν  
Ὀξυρυχειτῶν καὶ ἐποίησάν μαι χειρογρα-  
φῆσαι μέχρι εἰκά[δο]ς Φαμενώθ με καθι-  
σελθῖν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου καὶ πάν-

- 10 υ συνέχομαι μὴ δυνασθῶ πρὸς τὴν προ-  
θεσμίαν κατισελθῖν διότι ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ  
ἀνὴρ τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου Θεοδώρας καὶ ἐν  
συνζητήσι εἰμὲι μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐ-  
του ἔνεκα τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς. κα-  
15 λῶς οὖν π[ο]ιήσης, κυρία μου θυγάτηρ, πο-  
λυπραγμονῆσαι τί καὶ ἄλλοι χειρογραφῆ-  
σαντές 'τί μέλλουσι πρᾶξαι. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσης.  
προσδοκῶ γὰρ μέχρι δευτέρας ἀπελθῖν [ . ]  
πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφήν σου. ἐὰν μὲν δυνασθῶ  
20 πῖσαι [αὐ]τούς, εὖ ἂν ἔχ[ο]ι, ἐὰν δὲ [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] σιν, πᾶν  
ποιῶ ἔλθιν. κ[α]ὶ γὰρ πρὸ τούτου η. [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] . πρ[ο]σ-  
κυνῆσαι ὑμᾶς. ἔλαβά σου ἐπιστόλιν . . . [ . . . ] . ὦρος  
καὶ ἐχ[ά]ρην ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς ὀλοκληρίας ὑμῶ(ν)  
καὶ τ[ῶν] παιδίων ὑ[μ]ῶν. δη. [ . . . ] καμ. . . . εἰ ὄ-  
25 τι, ἔδω[κα] τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ οὕτω [ἔ]σχον τὰ ἴδη'. κα-  
λῶς ο[ὕ]ν ποι[ή]σεις λαβῖν τὰ ἴδη. [ο]ὕ γὰρ ἀπεταξά-  
μην αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ οἶδε καὶ αὐ[τὸ]ς ὅτι οὐκ ἀπε-  
ταξ[ά]μ[η]ν? ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ιδῶ[ν] . . . . ὡς θυγάτηρ  
οὕτως . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . ἀπα[ζ] . . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]  
30 σου. ἀσπάζεται καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή σου [ . . . ] . ρας. ἀσπά[ . . . ] -  
ζεται ὑμᾶς Εὐλόγις. ἀσπάζεται [ὑμᾶς] Ἀπολλώνιος  
καὶ Θῶνις. ἀσπαξε Καλλίνικον [καὶ] Κάλλιππο(ν)  
καὶ Θῶνιν καὶ Δημήτριον καὶ [ . . . ] ν. (vac.)  
ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι ἰς τὸν [ . . . ] . , κυρία μου  
35 (vac.) θυγάτηρ. (vac.)

Downwards in the left margin:

πᾶν ποιήσης λαβοῦσα τὰ ἴδη πάντα. ἔστιν δὲ τὸ κατ' ἰδέα[ν: τὸ  
β]ασκαύλι[ον] καὶ τ[ὸ] κάδιον βαλανί[ο]ν καὶ ὁ κόκκομα[ς]  
καὶ ἡ κρεμαστὴ λυχνία καὶ τ[ὸ]ν ξέστην καὶ τὸν λύχρον ἔχοντα  
ἀλώπηκα καὶ τὸ πελύκιον καὶ τὰ δύο ἐνώ-  
δια σὺν τοῖς πινάροις αὐτῶν (vac.) καὶ τὰ ἐπωμίδια δύο καὶ τὴν  
λίτραν τ[ο]ῦ σιππέου τρυφερά.



Upwards along the fibres of the back:

... τῆ θυγα (vac?)...

3 l. πλείστα χαίρε	4 ὕμων	5-6 l. γινώσκειν	7 οξυρυγ'χειτων; l. Ὀξυρυγχιτών, με		
7-8 l. χειρογραφῆσαι	8-9, 11 l. κατεισελθεῖν	13 l. συζητήρει εἰμί	15 l. ποιήσεις, θύγατερ		
16 17 χειρογραφῆσαντες: ε corr. from ι	18 l. ἀπελθεῖν	20 l. πείσαι	21 l. ἐλθεῖν	22 ὕμας;	
l. ἐπιστόλιον	23 υμῶ	24 ὕ[μ]ων	25, 26 l. εἶδη	26 l. λαβεῖν, εἶδη	28 ἰδω[ν]:
l. εἰδῶν	30 l. σε	31 ὕμας; l. Εὐλόγιος	32 l. Θῶνις; καλλιππο	34 ἴς: l. εἰς	
35 l. θύγατερ	36 ἴδη; l. εἶδη, κάδιον, βαλανείον	37 l. ἀλώπεκα	37-8 l. ἐνώτια		
38 l. πωρῆρις; σιπ'πεου; l. σιππέιου, τρυφεροῦ?					

'Thonis to Syras and Callinicus, my lords children, very many greetings in the lord god. I make your obeisance every day in the presence of the lord god. I want you to know that I was detained by the Oxyrhynchites and they made me give a written agreement that I would return by the twentieth of Phamenoth with your brothers, but I am absolutely constrained and cannot return by the due date, because your sister Theodora's husband has died and I am in dispute with his brother about her daughter's affairs. You will do well, my lady daughter, to inquire what the others who have made agreements for some purpose are going to do. But do not forget, for I expect to go off to your sister until the second of the month. If I manage to persuade them, it would be a good thing, but if ..., I shall make every effort to come. For even before this (I had hoped?) to salute you (in person?). I received your letter ... and rejoiced to hear of the health of you both and of your children. ... that, 'I gave the money and I did not get the goods yet'. So you will do well to get the goods. For I did not waive claim to them. Doesn't he know that I did not waive claim? So much for(?) the goods. ... Your ... greet(s) you?. Your sister ... as greets you. Eulogius greets you. Apollonius and Thonis greet you. Greet Callinicus and Callippus and Thonis and Demetrius and ... I pray for your health for ..., my lady daughter.'

Margin:

'Make every effort to get all the goods. Here is the itemized list: the washbasin and the pail for the bath and the cooking pot (cauldron or boiler?) and the hanging lamp and the pint pot (ewer?) and the lamp that has a fox and the hatchet and the two earrings with their pearls and the two shoulder pieces(?) and the pound of fine tow.'

Address:

'... to (Syras) his daughter ...'

3 πλίστα χαίραι (l. πλείστα χαίρε). Cf. 3999 2, which is the only known parallel. This is the product of the interaction of two different formulas, i.e. πλείστα χαίρειν and the rarer imperative χαίρε, which is usually the first word rather than the last and accompanied by the vocative rather than the usual dative, cf. F. X. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* 35-6, H. Koskeniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes* 164-7. An additional cause of surprise is the singular form so close to the prescript addressed to two persons. Thonis continues throughout the letter to address Syras particularly, with occasional recollections of Callinicus.

4-5 The initial greeting 'in the lord god' has every appearance of being a Christian one, although it has been argued that 'the lord god' is not specific to Christianity; the obeisance formula is typically pagan. The matter is discussed by G. Geraci, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971) 197-200, with references to other probably Christian obeisances; the clearest example was published after Geraci's work by H. C. Youtie, *ζPE* 28 (1978) 265-8 (= *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 451-4).

5-11 It is impossible to know what was happening here. The mention below of ἄλλοι χειρογραφῆσαντές τι (16-17) suggests that he is one of a group or category subject to a contractual obligation, probably in connection with taxes or public services, cf. e.g. LV 3795 introd. para. 1.

The manner of the reference to 'the Oxyrhynchites' rather suggests that he did not regard himself as one of them, which is surprising. He may have been a villager rather than a metropolitan, or possibly a citizen of some other place.

8–9 καθισελθίν, cf. 11 κατισελθίν (l. κατεισελθειν). For phonetic confusion of θ and τ see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 92–3.

For the meaning ‘to return home’ see especially P. Tebt. II 353. 6 ἀπ’ ἀναχωρήσεως κατ(ε)ισελθιθώς. Cf. **3999** 21 n.

9–10 πάν|υ. This is a false division of syllables, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*<sup>2</sup> 17 (1<sup>1</sup> 19–20). The nu is cramped and distorted, which probably indicates that the writer knew that he was in difficulty with his layout.

10 δυνασθῶ, cf. 19. See Gignac, *Grammar* ii 318–9.

12–13 ἐν συνζητήει (l. συζητήει) ... μετὰ κτλ., ‘in dispute ... with’. It is not perfectly clear that Thonis and the dead man’s brother were adversaries. In that case πρὸς would be more classical, but it is easier to imagine that Thonis was defending his granddaughter’s interests against those of her father’s brother than to picture them as allies against some other party.

15 θυγάτηρ. For nominative in place of vocative in this word see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 62, cf. below 35 and perhaps 28.

19–22 The plural [αὐ]τούς looks like a reference back to the Oxyrhynchites: he will try to persuade them to allow him an extension of time; if they will not be persuaded (ἐὰν δὲ [μὴ] θέ[λω]σιν?; but this cannot be confirmed), he will make every effort to come, that is to comply with his contract, especially since he wants to see his daughter and her family. In 21 the traces might possibly be consistent with ἡλιπίζον[...], but this forces the spacing and is not fully convincing.

22 ἔλαβα. Cf. **3988** 4 n.

ἐπιστόλιον. Cf. **3988** 5 n.

22–9 The difficulties have not been solved. Clearly it is the recipient, Syras, who is to take possession of the goods, see 36, but another person seems to be involved, see οἶδε (27).

31 Εὐλόγιος (= -ιος). Cf. **3988** 5 n.

34 The traces do not appear to fit αἰῶνα: αἰ- could suit, but the next letter has an oblique like the lower left part of lambda or chi. Cf. P. Mich. VIII 481. 36 ἐρρώσθαί τε εὐχομαι εἰς αἰῶν[α], P. Laur. II 39. 10–11 ... εἰς μακρὸν αἰῶνα, XLI **2982** 28 ... εἰς μακροὺς αἰῶνας, X **1299** 20 ... [ε]ἰς πολλοὺς χρόνους.

35 Cf. 15 n.

36 τὸ κατ’ ἰδέα|υ. We expect rather τὸ κατ’ ἔδος, cf. P. Achmim 8. 42, P. Col. VII 188. 7, VI **937** 22, SB X 10530. 4, 18, but ἰδε is clear. Perhaps he felt he had repeated ἔδος too often already.

β]αυκαύλι[ον] was perhaps here spelled βαυκαύλιον, cf. κάδιον (36), πελύκιον (37) and **3988** 5 n. The word is variously explained as from Latin *uasculum* (I **109** 22 n.: βαυκαύλιος), from a Jewish word seen also in μαυκαύλιος, ‘laver’ (P. Cair. Isid. 137. 3 n.: παυκαύλιον), and from a British Celtic word seen in Latin as *bascauda* (B. Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter* 9–10, 105, J. Kramer, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 117–8); cf. perhaps P. Ryl. IV 627. 82 βάυκυλα. According to Latin glossaries *bascaudae* are *conchae aereae, genera uasorum*, see G. Goetz, CGL VI 130 (index), which suggests that ‘laver, washbasin’ is the correct sense. If so, perhaps it may be that several items in this list can be seen together as equipment for the bathroom, cf. next note.

κάδιον βαυανί[ο]υ (= κάδιον βαυανείου). This was probably a smallish bucket-shaped vessel used to pour water over a bather, a *situla*. It would be very unwieldy in pot, so perhaps it was in bronze, as the washbasin just preceding seems likely to have been, see above. The two silver examples in the Seuso treasure give an idea of the shape and size envisaged, roughly 30 cm high and 25 cm in diameter at the base, which in these examples is the widest part, see M. Mango, *Antike Welt* 21. 2 (1990) 83–4, Abb. 15.

We could possibly take this item as an indication that several of these pieces were for use in the bathroom, i.e. a basin and ewer (?), βαυκαύλιον (36), ξέστην (37), a bath bucket (36) and a boiler, rather than a cooking pot, κόκκομα[ε?] (36), see notes. However, παυκαύλιον (= βαυκ.), κούκκομα, ξέστην, and πελύκιον (cf. 37) all appear together in P. Cair. Isid. 137 with no indication that they are bathroom equipment, while the frying pan there (δήγανον = τήγανον, 5) rather suggests that they belong to the kitchen.

ὁ κόκκομα[ε?]. The masculine article suggests the restoration of a sigma, but this is doubtful in view of the range of Greek forms representing Latin *cucina*: κούκκομα (nom. for acc.?, cf. 5 ξέστην, 9 ἔνιν, 10 βοῦν; therefore fem.?) α, P. Cair. Isid. 137. 4; κόκκομαν ἐσφραγισμένον (acc.; therefore masc.?), P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 8–9; κούκκομαν (acc.) ἐλαίου, VIII **1160** 23; κόκκ[ε?]ουμαν (acc.?), P. Ross.-Georg. V 5. 10; κούκκομειν (sic; = κούκκομαν, ογ -μον?) μικρὸν (= μικρὸν) α, P. Wash. Univ. I 58. 18; κούκκομος χαλκοῦς α, Stud. Pal. XX 67 recto 16; κούκκομιον α, X **1290** 3; κούκκομιον α, XIV **1658** 9; τὸ κούκκομιον τ[ο]ῦ θέρμου, P. Strasb. VIII 736. 11; κούκκομ( ) χαλκ( ) α, P. Grenf. II 111 (=W. *Chr.* 135). 23; [εἰς] κόλλησιν κούκκομ( ) (δρ.) ρ,

P. Ryl. IV 639. 71 (cf. 228 *κουκ[ ]*; *κουκκου[μ-* P. Apoll. 95 fr. A.6. In P. Hamb. I 10. 36 *κοκκόμανα β̄* might possibly represent *κόκκομαν α* followed by something corrected by the clerk; the most likely thing is that it was α (= 'one') as well, but botched and therefore rewritten close to the noun. This is under the heading *χαλκώματα*, 'items of bronze', which makes it almost sure to be relevant to our word. However, there is a similar puzzle in *κοκκομαρος*, P. Amh. II 126 (= P. Sarap. 55). 30, between 'oil' and 'salt', which may be attributable to some other word entirely. In Stud. Pal. XX 164. 2 *παράχ(ου) Ψέει κουκκουμ( ) νο(μικμάτια) σε*, the abbreviated form could represent an occupation, a patronymic, or a nickname or alias. *κουκούμιον* and *κούκουμος* also appear in the Latin-Greek glossaries, see G. Goetz, *CGL* VI 290 s.v. *cucuma* (index). A Greek masculine form with alpha in the ending occurs here and in P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 8-9, *κούκκομαν ἐσφραγισμένον*. In P. Cair. Isid. 137. 4 *κούκκομα* looks like a feminine nominative; other forms with alpha are ambiguous in gender. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 8-9 on changes of declension in loan words from Latin, including this one. The variant phonetic spellings, *ου/ο* in the first two syllables and the doubling of the medial kappa, represent common phenomena, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 217-226, 160-1.

One reference in Latin to *cucuma* shows that it has some connection with the bathroom; this is Martial X 79. 4. The poem is a jibe at a snob who tried to model himself in small ways on a man of consular rank; when one was consul, the other was *uici magister*; one had a villa four miles from Rome, the other bought a *breue rus* (a cottage?); one planted a grove of bay trees, the other sowed a hundred chestnuts; one built marble *thermae*, the other *cucumam fecit*. TLL and Lewis and Short suggest that therefore *cucuma* means some sort of bath, OLD says that it is used 'humorously, of a small bath'. They are probably wrong. The point is that the *cucuma* is a vessel which can be put on the fire to heat the contents; this emerges directly from the Latin-Greek glossaries, which give for it *θερμοφόρον*, *caccabus*, *caldarius*, see G. Goetz, *CGL* VI 290 s.v. (index); Isidorus of Seville 20. 8. 3 says, '*caccabus et cucuma a sono feruoris cognominantur*', which broadly confirms the purpose for which the *cucuma* was used, regardless of his accuracy. In Martial the poorer man cannot build hot baths in marble like his hero, but he has a cauldron or boiler made to heat his bath water. Following the clue of the *κάδιν βαλανί[ο]ν* (36), it may be worth suggesting that this one too belongs to the bathroom or bathhouse.

Three of the above references show us that the vessel could be made of bronze: Stud. Pal. XX 67 recto 16, P. Grenf. II 111 (= W. Chr. 135). 23, P. Hamb. I 10. 36 (with *χαλκώματα*, 35); another refers to soldering, which implies metal: P. Ryl. IV 639. 71 (cf. 227); a reference in Digest 48. 8. 1. 3 to the use of a key or a *cucuma* as a weapon in a brawl, which is evidence of the absence of premeditation in a crime, indicates that they were also made in iron: *sed si clauis percusserit* (cf. LI 3644 19-23) *aut cucuma in rixa, quamuis ferro percusserit, tamen non occidendi animo*. TLL IV 1281-2 gives a few references to examples in pot. Bronze is perhaps the most likely in the present case, see above on *βασκαύλιον*.

The shape is not precisely known, but Petronius, *Sat.* 135-6 shows that the example there had a neck: *cucumam ingentem foco apposuit* (135. 4); then, as the result of an accidental fall, *frangitur ... ceruix cucumulae* (the same vessel, not, therefore, as in OLD, 'a (small) cooking-vessel') *ignemque ... restinguit* (136. 2). This eases the problem of why such a vessel might be used as a container of oil or lupine seeds, see above, and it is of course sensible that a vessel designed to be heated on the fire should have a comparatively narrow mouth, if not a lid, like a modern kettle, to keep the heat in.

37 ἡ κρεμαστὴ λυχνία. For hanging lamps in bronze, which may be the most likely material here, see above on *β]ασκαύλι[ον* and *κόκκομα[ε?]*, cf. e.g. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum* Pl. II-V, cf. XXXVII, M. de' Spagnolis, E. De Carolis, *Le Lucerne* (Museo Nazionale Romano. I bronzi IV. 1) 21-3, 26, 28, 42-3, 50, 59, 64, 67, 69, 80, 88, 90-100. They might also be in clay, cf. e.g. D. M. Bailey, *Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum* ii 389-91, and Pl. 89, or in glass, see D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* 155-7.

ξέστην. This might be either a measure or a just a vessel, see G. Goetz, *CGL* VII 590 s.v., with the interpretations '*τὸ ἄγγος urceolus, τὸ μέτρον sextarius*'. It seems that the word *χερμιβόξεστον*, which occurs in the papyri three times: Stud. Pal. XX 151. 10, P. Amst. I 87. 8, P. Wash. Univ. I 59. 13, means a set of basin and ewer for washing one's hands, see E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Dictionary* s.v., cf. P. Grenf. II 111. 6 n.; it seems clear that *ξέστης*, which originally means a pint measure, from *sextarius*, must be hollow ware and not flatware, and that therefore in that church inventory it must be the silver flagon to match the three silver chalices which precede it. In our case it may be the ewer or water jug which goes with the basin, see above on *β]ασκαύλι[ον*.



ἀλώπηκαγ (= ἀλώπεκα). Eta for epsilon is probably a mistake in declension, rather than a phonetic error, although that is possible, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 244–6; erroneous addition of final nu is due to contemporary pronunciation, see *ibid.* 113–4.

For the fox as a motive on clay lamps, which is rare, cf. D. M. Bailey, *Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum* iii 73–4. For Egyptian clay lamps in general see Eva-Maria Cahn-Klaiber, *Die antiken Tonlampen des archäologischen Instituts der Universität Tübingen* 125–262. Bronze lamps have various animals as decoration and might well have had a fox, but none has been traced on this occasion.

πελύκιγ (= -κιον). Cf. **3988** 5 n.

37–8 ἐνώδια (= -τια). Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 83. For earrings with pearls cf. e.g. P. Herm. 64. 3–4, X **1273** 10, SB VI 9372. 12–13.

38 πινάροις (= -ρίοις). Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302–3.

ἐπωμίδια. This word seems to exist only as the name of a variety of harness or ornament for a horse, Appian, *Mith.* 115; καὶ ἵππων χαλινὸι καὶ προστερνίδια καὶ ἐπωμίδια. In our context it seems likely to be an item of dress or ornament, obviously associated in some way with the shoulder, cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπωμίς II, but no real clue to a more precise description has been discovered. One possibility might be a pair of brooches holding a garment at the shoulders, cf. J. P. Wild, *Latomus* 24 (1965) 610–13, esp. 611 fig. 1.

σιππέου. For the spelling see Gignac, *Grammar* i 66–7; for the diacritical mark see app. crit., cf. *ibid.* 163–5; for the substance of P. Mich. XIV 680. 3 n.

τρυφερά. In spite of some slight damage the final letter seems to be the inconvenient alpha; read τρυφεροῦ. It means ‘of fine quality’, cf. especially LIV **3753** 17–20, where τρυφεροῦ is the most expensive of three qualities, τρυφεροῦ, κοινοῦ, and ὑποδεεστερῶ(ν) χωρικ(ῶν).

39 Cf. introd. para. 4.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 3999. APHUS TO HERACLAMMON

28 4B.60/C(10–12)a

12.5 × 25 cm

Fourth century

The writer of this letter, Aphus, reports on his efforts to exact from a person called Didymus a debt due to the recipient, Heraclammon. First he had to find Didymus, which he did by persistently making himself unpleasant to Dioscorus, whose ‘brother’ Didymus was; see **3988** introd. on the ambiguity of the term ‘brother’. He had found Didymus the day before the letter was written and had with difficulty got him to make a written agreement in respect of thirty talents which Heraclammon had disbursed as wages. Aphus advises Heraclammon that if he comes in person he may be able to exact the debt. The difficulty is that some persons, presumably Didymus and his family or Didymus and Dioscorus together, are so poor that they do not even have enough bread to eat and no one else will advance the money on their security.

The introductory prayer ‘before the lord god’ is probably, but not certainly, an indication that Aphus was a Christian, cf. **3998** 4–5 n. The letter probably belongs to the first half of the fourth century.

The writing runs along the fibres, but there is no sheet join to prove that this side is the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut.

The letter was packaged for dispatch in a slightly unusual way. It was rolled up with the left edge inside and squashed flat; the exposed right edge was tucked inside



the flat package, which was then bent in half head to foot and tied up. The package must have looked somewhat similar to the sealed letter shown in W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* Taf. IV No. 14; in our case the binding was close to the joined ends, not in the middle. The address was written along the fibres in two lines on the side corresponding with the foot of the letter, and patterns were inked over the binding on both sides of the package. Each pattern is a rectangle with two diagonals and a third internal line cutting their intersection parallel with the height of the letter and longer side of the rectangle. The removal of the binding has removed the central parts of both patterns. The doubling of the rolled and flattened letter has led to serious damage in the middle section of the text.

The Greek, if colloquial, is better than might be suggested by the phonetic spellings, all of which are well paralleled, cf. in general F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i.

Ἀφοῦς τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἡρακλάμμων[ι  
 πλίστα χέραι. πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομέε  
 ὑγένιν καὶ ὀλοκληρῖν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ.  
 γινόσκιν εε θέλω, κύριέ μου, ὅτι πῶσα  
 5 ἐπύησα μετὰ Διοσκόρου περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ Διδύμου καὶ λέ(γ)ει μν ὅτι, 'παρέδω-  
 κα αὐτὸν Ἡρακλάμμωνα. νῦν οὖν οὐκ ὄ-  
 दा ποῦ ἐστιν'. καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀξειδίαν  
 πυῶ ματ' αὐτοῦ ἔνεκαι τούτο(υ). καὶ νῦν  
 10 οὖν εὔρον αὐτὸν τῶν Δίδυμων Φαρμούθι  
 μινὶ κγ̄ κ[.]τϵ[.]ε..δ[.]ω[.....  
 λησεωε[.....].[.....].[.....  
 καὶ ὑπαρ.[ c. 15 letters  
 διότι οὐδε.[ c. 12 letters ]χα  
 15 καὶ πινῶσι.[ c. 8 οὐδ]ἰς ἔλα-  
 βεν ἐπ' ἐγγ[ύην c. 12 ]ν (vac.)  
 Δίδυμον πυῆσαι [...]. χιρόγραφον  
 τῶν τριάκοντα ταλάντων (vac.)  
 ἃ ἔδωκεσ σαλάρων. μῶ(γ)εις τοῦτο  
 20 ἴσχυκα αὐτῷ πυῆσαι. νυνεὶ δέ, <ἐὰν> εὐ  
 αὐτὸς δύνῃ εἰσελθεῖν, τάχα δύνασαι  
 αὐτὸν πρᾶξαι. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἴσχυ-  
 κα πυῆσαι, διότι οὐδὲ τὸ ψωμὶν ἔχου-  
 ειν οὐδὲ οὐδὲ ἔλαβαι αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ἐγγύην.

25 ἀσπάζομαι πολλὰ τὴν σύνβιόν σου  
καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου κατ' ὄνομα. (vac.)  
ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχῶμαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.  
Φαρμούθι κδ̄. (vac.)

Back, upwards along the fibres:

(design) (vac.) [(vac.)? Ἡρ]ακλάμμων<ι>  
30 (vac.) [(vac.)? ] π(αρά) Ἄφουτος ἀδελφοῦ. (design)

2 l. πλείστα χαίρε, εὐχῶμαι 3 ὑγενιν: l. ὑγιαίνειν, ὀλοκληρεῖν 4 l. γινώσκειν, πόσα 5 l. ἐποίησα  
6 l. λέγει μοι 7 l. Ἡρακλάμμωνι 7-8 l. οἶδα 8 l. ἀηδῖαν 9 l. ποιῶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔνεκεν  
10 l. τὸν Δίδυμον 11 l. μὴνί 13 ὑπαρ. [ 15 l. οὐδεῖς 16 l. ἐγγύην 17 l. ποιῆσαι,  
χειρόγραφον 19 l. καλάριον, πεινώσι, μόγις 20 ἴσχυκα; l. ποιῆσαι 22-3 ἴσχυσα 23 l. ποιῆσαι,  
ψωμίον 24 l. οὐδεῖς ἔλαβει; ἐπ' ἐγγύην: π corr. from ν?, ν corr. from c; l. ἐπ' ἐγγύην 25 l. σύμβιον  
27 l. εὐχῶμαι, χρόνοις 30 π' (?) = π(αρά)

'Aphus to my lord brother Heraclammon, very many greetings. Before all I pray for your health and well being before the lord god. I want you to know, my lord, that I have done ever so much with Dioscorus about his brother Didymus, and he says to me, 'I have handed him over to Heraclammon. So now I don't know where he is'. I cause an unpleasantness with him every day because of this. So now at last I found Didymus himself, on the 23rd of the month of Pharmuthi. ... and they are hungry ... no one took (them) on bail ... Didymus to make ... an agreement for the thirty talents which you gave as salary. With difficulty I prevailed with him to do this. But now, if you can come (back?) yourself, perhaps you will be able to exact (them?) from him. For I could not prevail with him to do anything, because they do not even have bread and no one took them on bail. I give many greetings to your wife and your children by name. I pray for your health for many years. Pharmuthi 24.'

Address: 'To Heraclammon, from Aphus his brother.'

2 πλείστα χεῖραι (= πλείστα χαίρε). For the unusual form of the greeting see **3998** 3 n.

3 παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ. Cf. **3998** 2, 5, and 4-5 n.

4 πόσα (= πόσα) here seems to mean 'ever so much', 'a great deal', virtually equivalent to πλείστα, cf. P. Mich. VIII 473. 31 and n. The same usage is now probably to be recognized in LVI **3865** 56. Compare the similar use of ποσάκις to mean 'ever so often', 'very often', like πλειστάκις, see LV **3816** 6 n.

6 λέ<γ>ει. Cf. 19 n.

14-15 πινῶσι is probably to be interpreted as an iotacism for πεινώσι, 'they are hungry', in the light of 23-4 διότι οὐδὲ τὸ ψωμί<ο>ν ἔχουσιν, 'because they do not even have bread', which may well be echoed in line 14.

15-16 οὐδ' ἵε ἔλαβεν ἐπ' ἐγγύην (l. οὐδεῖς, ἐγγύην). Cf. 24. The expression has not been found elsewhere. 'No one took them on pledge' seems to mean that no one will give a pledge that they will be able to pay, or possibly that no one will produce the money on their promise to repay.

18 At this date thirty talents would be a smallish sum, as is implied by the description of it as 'salary', but in this period inflation was so rapid that without a fixed date it is impossible to make comparisons, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* 61-72.

19 ᾶ. There is a mark to the left of the top of the alpha which could be interpreted as rough breathing, but the form is not the normal one and breathings usually occur along with other signs of literary pride or ambition.

μῶ<γ>εις (= μόγις), cf. 6 λέ<γ>ει, and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 71-3.

20 νυνεῖ (= νυνὶ) δέ, <ἐάν> ... δύνη. An alternative might be to place a full stop after νῶν and continue εἰ δέ ... δύνη; cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 270 (§601) for εἰ with the subjunctive, but δύνη itself can

represent the second person present indicative of the analogical form of the same verb, *δύνομαι*, op. cit. 75 (§97), F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 384. However, although the New Testament fluctuates between *δύνη* and *δύναται*, it seems unlikely that both are indicative here, and *νῦν* would sit very awkwardly at the end of the sentence.

21 *εἰσελθεῖν*, 'to come/go in', 'arrive', looks here as if it means 'return', cf. 3998 8-9 n.

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#### 4000. APION TO AMMONIANUS

63 6B.72/C(1-3)a

11 × 25.5 cm

Late fourth century

The introductory prayer to divine providence probably indicates that this is a Christian letter, see 3-4 n. It is almost entirely about business matters, mostly private, but lines 16-22 relate to an *ἐπιμέλεια*, the public service post of supervisor, *ἐπιμελητής*; see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 27-8 for the wide variety of such appointments. All that we learn about this one is that it concerned the collection of money.

These same lines imply that Ammonianus, the addressee, was to be found in Alexandria, along with some companions (*ὄμᾶς*, 17). This leads us to wonder why in that case the letter was unearthed at Oxyrhynchus. It may have been brought there by the recipient, but there is a possibility that it was a file copy written on a bit of scrap paper. At five places in the left margin there are traces of writing intruding from the left. This could mean that the clerk wrote at least two letters, or perhaps duplicate letters, on the same piece and later divided them, but it may be more likely that he has used a piece of scrap paper which he cut out of a used roll. This view is favoured by a patch, a strip about 2 cm wide and 7 cm tall pasted on. It reaches to the bottom edge and has parts of lines 21-9 (e.g. *φησαται* 21) written over it. It is particularly noticeable because its surface fibres run vertically, while the rest of the writing runs along the fibres of the main piece. There is no sheet join to prove that this side was the recto of the original roll. The patch presumably covers a defect in the writing surface, and is perhaps more likely to have been put on when the piece was used for a second time.

On the other hand, a possible sign that the letter really was sent in the normal way is the presence of traces of writing on the back, where an address would be expected. Unfortunately it is so faded or abraded that nothing has so far proved legible on that side.

The most striking indication of the date is the mention of myriads of myriads of denarii, line 6. This terminology is confined to the second half of the fourth century, by which time inflation had forced the use of very high figures for accounting, see R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 12.

The writing is a careless but very fluent cursive, tall and laterally compressed. Its appearance of official competence makes a strange contrast with the frequent phonetic spellings; those so routine as to receive no comment here can be traced in F. T. Gignac,

*Grammar* i. A good parallel is a letter with very similar writing and spelling in XLVIII 3396 (Pl. V, VI). This comes from an archive with dated documents ranging from AD 331 to 371, see P. Oxy. XLVIII pp. 74–5; it too refers to myriads of myriads (line 17), and so belongs at the end of the range, in the sixties or seventies.

There is in fact a probable link with that archive, see 26–7 n., but 4000 is not certainly part of it, especially since the 6B element in the inventory number shows that it was found during the sixth season of excavations, while the archive emerged in the fifth.

κυρίῳ μο[υ πατρ]ῷ Ἀμμωνιανῶ  
 Ἀπίων χ(αίρειν).  
 τῇ θεῖα προνοία εὐχομαί και υἱένειν και εὐ-  
 θυμουῖντι ἀπολάβης τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα.  
 5 σπούδασον, κύριέ μου πάτερ, δοῦναι Ὁριγᾶτι  
 εἰς λόγων τη. . . . . μυριάδα{ς} μυριάδων  
 μίαν και μυριάδας διςχιλίας, και εἰς  
 λόγων τοῦ μεγάλου αὔξονος νομ(ισμάτιον) α,  
 μυρ(ιάδας) Ὑτπ. και ποιήσεων Χρῶν τὸν βοηθ(όν)  
 10 Ἑρακλείου παρασχεῖν {αυ}τῷ αὐτῷ Ὁριγᾶτι  
 εἰς λόγων τῶν πορφυρῶν νομ(ισμάτια) β, μυρ(ιάδας) | .ψπ.  
 και περὶ Μαξεντίου κατέσχον τὸ ναῦλον  
 αὐτοῦ ε. . . . .[. . .].φασι. . . . . και ἀγ-  
 τέστη ὅτι, ἤδη. . . . . δέδωκα αὐτῷ  
 15 [κ]αὶ ἤδη ἐξέπλεξα μετ' αὐτοῦ, και οὕτως  
 ἐπλήρωσα αὐτόν. και περὶ τῆς ἐπιμελίας  
 θαυμάζωμεν ὑμᾶς πῶς ἀφίτε ἡμᾶς,  
 καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας,  
 μηδὲν ποιοῦνταις, μηδὲ ἀποστέλλο(ν)ταις  
 20 τὴν λοιπάδαν τῶν ἀργυρίων {κα} ὧν ἐχι-  
 ρογραφῆσεται κα, ὡς, εἰ ἀποστέλλεται τὴν  
 λοιπάδαν, ἐν τάχει ἀποστίλαται. ἰ δὲ μή,  
 γράψαται ἡμῖν. τὴν λοιπάδαν δὲ τῶν  
 ἀκαντίνων ἀποστίλαται ἐν ψατίοις  
 25 δύο. και περὶ τῶν δύο ἀρταβῶν τῶν  
 κουλλουρίων ὧν ἔγραψά σοι τοῦ Σερήνου  
 τοῦ (ἐκατοντάρχου) ἀποστίλαται. ἄσπασον τοὺς ἡμῶν  
 πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἐρρώσθαι εὐχομαι  
 πολλοῖς χρόνοις.



2 χς/ μυριάδων	3 l. ce; υιενειν: l. υγιαίνειν	3-4 l. εὐθυμούντα ἀπολαβεῖν?	6 l. λόγον, μυριάδα
μυρ /.ψπ	8 l. λόγον, ἄξονος; νομσα	9 μυρ ; l. ποιήσον, Χωοῦν?; βοηθ	11. l. λόγον; νομςβ
20 l. λοιπάδα	16 l. ἐπιμελείας	17 l. θαυμάζομεν, ἀφείτε	19 l. ποιούντες, ἀποστέλλοντες
ῖ: l. εἶ	20-21 l. ἐχειρογραφήσατε	21 l. ἀποστέλλετε	22 l. λοιπάδα, τάχει ἀποστέλλετε;
27 χ; l. ἀποστείλατε	23 l. γράψατε, λοιπάδα	24 l. ἀκανθίνων ἀποστείλατε, ψιαθίοις	26 l. κολουρίων

'To my lord father Ammonianus, Apion, greetings. I pray to divine providence that you may be well and receive my letter in good spirits. Make sure, my lord father, to give Horigas on account of ... one myriad of myriads and two thousand myriads (of denarii; = den. 120,000,000), and on account of the large axle, sol. 1, den. myr. 2,380 (= den. 23,800,000). And make Chous(?), assistant of Heraclius, deliver to the same Horigas on account of the purples sol. 2, den. myr. n, 780 (= den. myr. n7,800,000). And as for Maxentius, I retained his freight money ... and he retorted, 'I have already given him ... and I already worked it out with him', and so I paid him in full. And as for the supervisorship, we are surprised that you abandoned us, while you sit in Alexandria, doing nothing, not even sending the remainder of the monies for which you made an agreement (21?). So, if you are sending the remainder, send it quickly; if not, write to us. Send the rest of the acacia wood in two reed baskets. As for the two artabas of buns belonging to Serenus the centurion, of which I wrote you, send them. Greet all our own people name by name. I pray for your health for many years.'

3-4 The prayer to divine providence was considered, with due reserve, to be a probable criterion of Christianity by M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo* 14. The reserve was stressed subsequently by G. Tibiletti, *Le Lettere Private* 118-119, n. 34, but the implication of Christianity is still hard to resist, if there are no contrary indications.

For *υιένειν* = *υγιαίνειν* cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 71.

The content of the prayer is given in a much abused formula of which there are many versions as garbled as this one, cf. e.g. LVI **3860** 2-3 n. It would help the grammar to some extent if *ἴνα* or *ὅπως* could be read in place of *καί*, but this seems impossible.

6 τῆ. . . . We expect a genitive with the article here, cf. 8, 11, but τῆς cannot be read, nor has a genitive ending been found to fit the noun. Something like τῆ κοινῆ or καινῆ would suit the remains, but these seem unconvincing in grammar and meaning.

On myriads of myriads see introd. para. 4. The unexpected order of words, accusative before genitive, is paralleled in XLVIII **3396** 17 and **3399** 5, which also has the disagreement of number, *μυριάδας μυριάδων μίαν*.

8 *αὔξονος* (= *ἄξονος*). The variant spelling has no very obvious phonetic justification, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 229; it may derive from a false etymology from *αὐξάνω*. This example seems to be early. Others so far noticed are P. Harr. I 112. 8 (V), XVI **1986** 22, 25 (549) = SB XII 11231. 23, 26, I **137** 15, 16, 23, 26, 29 (584), XVI **1988** 18, 20, 29, 34, 36 (587), **1989** 14, 17, 30 (590), **1990** 19 (591). In the papyri the word usually refers to a component of the water raising machinery now known as the *sakiyeh*, cf. L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, *La Sāqia*.

9 *Χωῶν*. Perhaps *Χωῶν* is meant, with one loop too few in the series, as so often happens. In either case the unknown name may be a version of *Χωοῦς*, which is fairly common. Read *Χωοῦν*?

11 *πορφυρῶν*. It is not clear whether this refers to dye (*πορφυρά*?), yarn, cloth, or garments (all from *πορφυροῦς*?).

|.ψπ. The oblique rising to the baseline also cuts the descender of the rho of *μυρ|*, but at a steeper angle than the abbreviation mark. It has been taken as the indicator of the unread figure for thousands, which seems to be there, although it is rather small. This method of indicating the thousands came in around the beginning of the fourth century and tended to replace the older indicator, a high hook, which, however, is still used in 'B for 2,000 in line 9.

14-16 It is not certain where the direct speech after *ὄτι* ends. It could extend as far as the full stop, but it seems more satisfactory to imagine that Apion withheld money from Maxentius at first, but then paid it over after Maxentius protested.

16 *ἐπιμελείας* (= *-λείας*). Cf. introd. para. 1.

19 ἀποστέλλο(ν)ται (= -οντες). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 347, on phonetic spellings which look like confluations of aorist stems with perfect participle endings; this too, with its present stem and link with ποιούνται (= -τες), is clearly just a phonetic spelling: nasal omitted, Gignac i 116; αι for ε, ib. 191–3.

20 λοιπάδαν (= -άδα): also 22, 23. See Gignac, *Grammar* ii 45–6.

20–21 {κα} ... κα. The κ is an angular form written over a small roundel, possibly omicron; κ is a rounded form. Both are used throughout the document. Even if it is the number 21, the meaning is very obscure.

24 ψατίοις = ψιαθίοις, 'reed baskets'. See most lately P. Nephros (B. Kramer, J. C. Shelton, *Das Archiv des Nephros*) 5. 11 n. For loss of unaccented iota before a back vowel see Gignac, *Grammar* i 304; for theta replaced by tau, here also in ἀκαντίον for ἀκανθίνων, see ibid. 87.

26 κολλούριων. Cf. Suidas (Adler) I iii p. 166, 2177 κολλούριον: εἶδος μελιτούτης (l. μελιτούτης?; cf. LSJ s.v. μελιτόεις), 'kind of honey cake'. This version of the word is not in LSJ, which cf. s.v. κολλούριον, or Suppl. The spelling is very varied and in some contexts this sense cannot be distinguished from that of κολλύριον, 'ointment, (eye) salve', cf. Suidas (Adler) I iii p. 146, 1954 κολλούρια: τὰ κολοβάς ἔχοντα τὰς οὐράς. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄρτων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰατρικῶν φαρμάκων λέγεται. See also E. Battaglia, *Artos* 88–9. Cf. **4001** 29 and n.

26–7 Cερήνου τοῦ (ἐκατοντάρχου). Cf. XLVIII **3416** 11 Cερήνου τοῦ (δεκαδάρχου); fresh inspection of the original shows that the abbreviation is χ for ἐκατοντάρχης, rather than χ for δεκαδάρχης. The loop of the rho can still be distinguished in spite of abrasion. This links **4000** with the archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus, see XLVIII pp. 74–6, but **4000** is not certainly part of that archive, see introd.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### **4001.** EUDAEMON TO HIS MOTHER, GRANDMOTHERS, AND CYRA

25 3B.58/F(a)

11 × 26.5 cm

Late fourth century

This letter is interesting mainly for its references to medical matters, and it is particularly unfortunate that these most interesting passages are damaged by fading and by the loss of what seems to be a very small rectangle of papyrus near the bottom left. It seems that Eudaemon was away from home, which the address shows to have been a doctor's surgery, presumably in Oxyrhynchus, and wrote back to his mother, grandmothers, and a lady called Cyra, whom we might take to be his sister or his wife.

He asked for the means to make more and different medical instruments, which he seems to have intended to do by himself, and for a heater, *πυριατήρ*, a word known from only one reference in the medical writer Soranus, and for a set of cupping vessels, which would have been for the universal remedy of blood-letting.

A useful collection of references to doctors in the papyri is to be found in CPR XIII pp. 89–100.

The Greek is that of an educated person, with only one intrusive nasal (13) and some few iotacisms, and the hand, which is the same throughout including the address, is well written without haste, although with no pretension to calligraphy. It belongs probably to the second half of the fourth century, and the references to divine providence are pretty certain to be Christian in association.

The writing of the main body of the letter runs along the fibres, but there is no sheet join to show that this is the recto. Two further lines were added downwards in the left margin, and an address was written upwards along the fibres of the back. The letter was rolled up with the right edge inside and squashed flat in the usual way, the exposed left edge was tucked inside for protection, a binding was placed round the middle of the flat package, and the address written in two halves divided by the binding. There is a pale patch in the middle, but no sign of the pattern often associated with such bindings; this may be due to fading or abrasion; all the writing on the back is now very faint.

κυρίαί[ς] μου μητρὶ καὶ μάμαι  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ Κύρα, Εὐδαίμων χαίρει(ν).  
 ἔσπευσα καὶ νῦν ὑμᾶς προσειπεῖν  
 εὐκαιρείαν εὐρών, εὐχόμενος  
 5 τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ ὅπως εὐθυμοῦσαι  
 καὶ ὑγειαίνουσαι ἀπολάβητε τὰ  
 παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα. πάνυ γὰρ ἡ-  
 μάς Ἡρακλάμμων ἐλθὼν ἐτά-  
 ραξεν, ὅτι φησὶν, 'ἐνόσχησεν Κύρα  
 10 ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἡμῶν', ἀλλ' εὐχαρι-  
 τοῦμεν τῇ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ τῇ παν-  
 ταχοῦ ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς πάντα βοηθοῦ-  
 σῃ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτῆ(ν) ὑγείανεν. γν' ὅ-  
 τω δὲ ὅτι τὰ λινοῦδια ἐτμήθη τῆς  
 15 ἀδελφῆς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλης καὶ ἐὰ(ν)  
 εὐρω γνήσιον ἐρχόμενον ἀ-  
 ποστέλλω αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πορφυροῦ(ν)  
 καράκαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα. ἐ-  
 χήκαμεν δὲ τὰ σκεύη παρὰ Ἐλένης  
 20 τῆς πλουμαρίας καὶ μόνα δ' βιβλία  
 εὐρον ἐν τῇ δισακκίᾳ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐγρά-  
 ψατε ὅτι, 'εἰ ἀπεστείλαμεν'. ἔσχαμε(ν)  
 δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα χωρὶς μόνῃς  
 τῆς ὑδρείας τοῦ ὀξυγγείου. ὅθεν

25 σπουδατάω ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν  
 Θεόδωρος ζητῆσαι ἡπὸ . . . . . τοῦ  
 να . . . . . καὶ γινῶναι περ[ι] αὐτοῦ  
 . . . . . ὑδρείαν, παρέσχευ ἀν-  
 τὶ τοῦ ὀξυγγείου κολλουρίων ὑδρεί-  
 30 [[. . .]]αν. σπούδασον δὲ τὸ χα[λ]κοῦν δελτά-  
 ριόν μοι ἀποστείλαι, ἵνα ἄλλα ἄρμενα ποι-  
 ῆσω, μὴ τὰ αὐτά, καὶ τὸν πυριατῆρα  
 ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς σικύας, ἵνα ποιήσω . . . -  
 τάδιον.

Downwards across the fibres in the left margin:

35 ἀπόστειλον δὲ καὶ κολλουρίων λίτρας τρεῖς μεμιγμένων ἀπὸ  
 πάντων . . . . . [ . . . . . ] . . . . .  
 στατικά καὶ . . . . . οἱ [ . . . ] . . . . . [ . . . ] . . . . . ἀλλα . . . . . λάβω  
 ἕτερα καλὰ α . . . α . . . . . [

Back, upwards along the fibres:

ἀπόδος εἰς τὸ ἰατρεῖον (vac.) [πα]ρὰ Εὐδαίμονος.

1	1. μάμμαϊς	2	χαιρεῖ	3	ὑμας	5	1. εὐκαιρίαν	6	ὑγ-; 1. ὑγιαίνουσαι	10	ἀλλ'
13	ὑγ-; 1. ὑγίανεν	18	ξᾶ?	17	πορφυροῦ?	21	ὑμεις	22	εσχαμέ	24	ὑδρείας: 1.
	ὑδρίας, ὀξυγγίου	28, 29	ὑδρει-: 1. ὑδρί-, 1. ὀξυγγίου			31	ἵνα	35	1. τρεῖς		

'To the ladies my mother and grandmothers together with Cyra, Eudaemon, greetings. Having found a good opportunity I made haste to greet you right now, praying to divine providence that you may receive my letter in good health and spirits. For Heraclammon came and worried us greatly, because he says, 'Our sister Cyra fell ill', but we thank divine providence, which helps us everywhere and in everything, that she too has recovered. Let her know that the linen garments of our sister Cyrilla were cut from the loom, and if I find a friend going I will send them and the purple cape with a hood and the shoes. We have received the goods from Helen the embroidress and I found only four books in the saddlebag, while you wrote, 'We sent five'. We had all the other things too except only the jar of grease. So let our brother Theodorus make sure to look . . . and to know about it . . . jar, he provided instead of the grease a jar of ointments. Make sure to send me the bronze sheet(?), so that I may make other instruments, not the same ones, and the heater likewise and the cupping vessels, so that I may make (a set of five?).'

Downwards in the left margin:

'Send also three pounds of ointments mixed from all . . . astringent ones and . . . I (may?) receive other nice ones . . .'

Address:

'Deliver to the surgery, from Eudaemon.'



1 *μάμαις* (= *μάμμαϊς*). For simplification of double mu see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 157; for the phenomenon in this word see P. Mich. VIII 465. 39, 466. 44 (same person; AD 107), P. Diog. (= P. Schubert, *Les archives de Marcus Aurelius Diogenes*) 17. 10, cf. 2 (*μαμμικῶν*; second/third cent.), P. Grenf. I 61. 3, 7 (sixth cent.).

2 *Εὐδαίμων*. The letter of a fourth century doctor called Eudaemon survives in a damaged state as P. Fouad 80. Its provenance is unknown, and although a reference to the temple of Triphis connects it with the area of Panopolis, it could have been found at Oxyrhynchus. Even though a photograph shows that it is in a different hand from ours, it could have come from the same doctor, using a different *amanuensis*. However, the name Eudaemon is common and there is nothing in the texts themselves to give any strong support to a theory that they come from the same person.

5 *θεία προνοία*, cf. 11. Cf. 4000 3-4 n. for the presumption of Christianity that this offers.

13 *αὐτή{ν}*. Cf. 3991 18 n.

14 *λινοῦδια*. On the rare suffix *-οῦδιον*, which later produced many Modern Greek words in *-ουδι*, see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 14, cf. 82, 89.

*ἐτμήθη*. This means that these linen garments had been shaped on the loom and cut off it because they were ready, cf. LI 3626 16-17 n, LVI 3855 4 n. Compare too Dionysius, *Bassarica* (ed. E. Livrea) 83 (fr. 2):

ἔνθα τε πέπλα γυναῖκες Ἀθηναίης ἰότητι  
αὐτῆμαρ κροκόωσιν ἐφ' ἵστοπόδων τανύουσαι,  
αὐτῆμαρ δ' ἔταμον τε <καὶ ἐξ ἱστῶν> ἐρύσαντο.

16 *γνήσιον*. Cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. *γνήσιος* (4) for its use as a noun meaning 'friend' in Athanasius and John Chrysostom. No other example in the papyri has been identified on this occasion.

17-18 *τὸν πορφυροῦ(ν) καράκαλλον*. On the identification and pictorial representation of the hooded cape known as the *caracalla* see J. P. Wild, *Britannia* 17 (1986) 352-3. Hitherto the papyri have given only the diminutive form *καρακάλλιον*, in various spellings, cf. LVI 3871 2 n. The list in S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 50, s.v., is updated in P. Heid. IV 333. 4 n.: add 3871 2, CPR X 139. 2, 4, 5, SB XVI 12249. 11. LSJ gives the basic form of the word as a neuter, *καράκαλλον*, but AP XI 345. 3 *μηκεδανὸν καράκαλλον ... κομίζεις*, and the genitives in Diocletian, *Edict. rer. venal.* 7. 44 κ. *ἀδρου*, 7. 45 κ. *μ(ε)ικροτέρου*, 26. 120, 135 *καρακάλλων* are ambiguous. J. P. Wild, *Latomus* 23 (1964) 532-6, made a study of the forms in both languages and suggested that the original Latin form ought to be *caracallus*, but he withdrew the suggestion in *Britannia* 17 (1986) 353, because two lead curse tablets from Bath, one of them possibly of a date before the emperor Caracalla, have the feminine form; in fact the assigned dates are not necessarily secure, see R. S. O. Tomlin in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* ii 123 (No. 10. 6 n., cf. 16, and No. 65. 4). Nevertheless there seems to be no reliable attestation of a masculine form in Latin or any of a feminine form in Greek, which has both a masculine, *καράκαλλος*, and a neuter *καρακάλλιον*.

20 *πλουμαρίας*. The masculine *πλουμάριος*, transliterated from the Latin *plumarius*, was the only gender of the adjectival form of the trade name attested up to now, see S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 92, cf. G. Dagron, D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* 83 (no. 38 comm.) for some epigraphic literature. The feminine *πλουμάρια* is found in P. Aberd. 59 i 7 (Fourth/fifth cent.).

*βιβλία*. The word *βιβλίον* means first of all papyrus, so that it is impossible to separate the meanings of 'books' and 'papers' without some external indication. Here perhaps the numbers do suffice to make it more probable than not that these were books rather than documents. For the overlapping terms *χάρτης* and *βιβλος*, with their diminutives, see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 70-79.

Another consideration might be that 'medical knowledge was especially likely to be transmitted through reading', W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* 275, cf. 82, and Professor Parsons draws our attention to P. Ross.-Georg. III 1. 17-18 *γράφω ἐκτινάξαι μου τὰ ἱατρικὰ βιβλία* (3rd cent.) By the date of this letter a medical book might well be more likely to be in codex than in roll form, especially because codices were easier to consult (Harris, 296-7). On the early appearance of medical codices see C. H. Roberts, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40 (1954) 195-6, citing the story of the bishop who answered an accusation of surrendering Christian books during Diocletian's persecution with the words, '*dedi codices medicinales*', cf. 184-5 n. 2, (b) and (c). It is very probable that *βιβλίον* can have that meaning, see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. *βιβλος*, but no clear example of it has been found on this occasion.

21 δισακκία. For the doublet δισάκκιον/δισακκία and others of the same kind see G. Husson, *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 1297–1301.

24 ὕδρεια (l. ὕδριας), cf. 28, 29–30. It is not certain whether this word implies any definite form or size of vessel, see C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* iii 319, s.v. Hydria.

ὄξυγγείου (l. -ίου), cf. 29. This substance is rare in the papyri, only in P. Lond. IV 1414. 291, 1415. 11 (here ὄξαγγ-), and P. Köln VII 318. 6. The origin is Latin *axungia*, 'axle grease', but ὄξ- is the normal spelling in Greek. It refers to solid animal fat, and appears in one Latin account among foodstuffs issued to Roman soldiers, presumably to be used in cooking, see A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: The Latin Writing Tablets* 4. 35, cf. n. That it really was, in some contexts, axle grease is shown by a passage of Aetius Amidenus, *Iatric.* vi 55. 83 where one of the ingredients of a remedy was ὄ. ἀπὸ τροχῶν τῶν ἄμαξῶν. It was commonly pork fat, see e.g. Alex. Trall., *Therap.* ii 109. 2 (ὄ. χοιρείου), 185. 23 (ὄ. χ. παλαιού), but goose fat is also mentioned op. cit. ii 303. 14 (ὄ. νεαροῦ χηνείου καθαροῦ), and presumably any solid fat could be called by the same name. In this context it was obviously for medicinal use, cf. P. Köln VII 318. 6 n.

28, 29–30 ὕδρεια. Cf. 24 n.

29 ὄξυγγείου. See 24 n.

κολλουρίων, cf. 35. In this context the reference is evidently to medicinal ointments, possibly eye salves, for which the dictionary spelling is κολλύριον; cf. 4000 26 n. on κολλουρίων, where the quantity specified, two artabas, indicates that a very similar word referring to a type of bread is meant. The spelling of both words is confused and uncertain, and without a clue from the context the meaning may in some cases be uncertain.

The instruction in line 35, 'Send three pounds of *collyria*, mixed from all ...', suggests that the reference is to ointments prepared in a solid stick form according to various recipes, from which a doctor could select one appropriate to the needs of his patient; see for a brief popular account Ralph Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* 83–5.

30–31 τὸ χα[λ]κοῦν δελτάριον. LSJ s.v. δελτάριον II refers to H. Schoene, *Hermes* 38 (1903) 280–4, a publication of two lists of surgical instruments. The Latin list, written probably in the ninth century AD, has *deltarium*; the shorter Greek list, of probably the eleventh century, does not have it, although it is obviously a Greek term, nor has it been traced in the Greek medical writers. Here it seems unlikely to be a writing tablet, the most common meaning of δελτάριον, but on the other hand it is hard to imagine what surgical instrument or apparatus would be required by a person wanting to make other surgical instruments. The guess used for the translation is that it means 'the sheet of bronze', that is, the raw material to be shaped into the new instruments.

31 ἄρμενα. Cf. LSJ s.v. 3 b., citing Bacch. ap. Erot. fr. 37 (also 61, with virtually the same words) ἄρμενα γὰρ ἰδίως λέγεται τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἰατρικὴν χρεῖαν ἐπιτήδεια ἐργαλεῖα, οἶον κμίλια, φλεβοτόμα καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια.

32 πυριατήρα. This occurs once only, Soranus, *Gynaec.* 3. 10. 3, in a list of means to apply local heat to the body: πυριατήρας θερμοῦ ὕδατος πεπληρωμένους.

33 σικύας, 'cupping vessels'. On their use, mostly for blood-letting, see the brief clear account of J. S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times* 101–5, Pl. IV, XXXIII–XXXVII. Note that the small versions illustrated in XXXVI 1, 3 are now considered modern, see E. Künzl, *Germania* 60 (1982) ii 513–32; this article gives a good modern bibliography and an account of the ancient examples. The plural is explained by the fact that doctors needed a set in different sizes to suit any part of the body chosen for this treatment, which was so prevalent that the cupping vessel became a symbol of the profession, illustrated especially on the tombstones of doctors. It is mentioned in three fragmentary medical texts surviving on papyrus, see M.-H. Marganne, *Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine* pp. 61, 89, 221. Two examples may be illustrated in a temple relief of the Roman period at Kom Ombo, see e.g. A. Stettler, *Antike Welt* 13. 3 (1982) 48–53, esp. 50, Abb. 4. 1, cf. M.-H. Marganne-Mélard in *Archéologie et Médecine. VIIèmes Rencontres Internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire d'Antibes* 404–5. An earthenware example is now in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin, see C.-B. Arnst, *Forschungen und Berichte* 28 (1990) 31, with abb. 14, but, although it is assigned to the Graeco-Roman period, nothing is known of its provenance or acquisition. Dr Jaromir Málek, of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, kindly gave us his help with matters relating to Egyptology and in particular supplied the references to the illustrated articles of Stettler and Arnst.

33–4 The unread word appears to end in -άδιον, a diminutive suffix which was not very productive in the Greek of the period, see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 88–9; for the known

possibilities see P. Kretschmer, P. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* 147–8. A possible reading might be *πεντάδιον*; the putative nu has suffered the most damage and is completely uncertain, but the other four letters are at least well suited to the remains. In BGU III 812, 6 and P. Mil. II 77 (=SB VI 9509). 2 *πεντάδιον* appears to mean a 'set of five'.

35 *κολλουρίων*. Cf. 29 n.

36 *στατικά*, 'astringent ones'. It seems probable that this, and not a prepositional compound, is the full word, and that the topic under discussion is still *collyria*, cf. Actius Amidenus, *Iatric.* 104 *περὶ τῶν στατικῶν κολλυρίων καὶ ἐρικηρῶν. καὶ τὰ στατικὰ καλούμενα κολλύρια ἀποκρουστικὰ τυγχάνει. ἴσται γὰρ τὴν ἄτακτον ὀρμὴν τοῦ ρεύματος.*

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4002. DIOGENES TO EUMATHIUS

65 6B.32/M(6)a

21 × 26 cm

Fourth/fifth century

The sender of this letter was a *scholasticus*, that is, a man with legal training, see 23 n. As the bearer of his letters he made use of an armed guard (*κύμμαχος*) attached to an official, probably a civil servant, with the military title of *speculator*, see 5–6 n. In such a context it is not surprising that the language is pretty correct and the writing competent. The main part of the letter, lines 1–15, is in a tall, upright, very fluent, official looking cursive. A second hand in much the same style, but smaller, lighter, and less careful, begins in line 15 and carries through to the end, including the farewell formula. Probably this is the hand of the sender himself and some of the corrections in the earlier section, particularly of iotacisms, look as if they are in this lighter hand, so that we may guess that a clerk wrote most of the letter and that the sender corrected it and added a postscript and farewell. It looks as if he also intervened in the address on the back, see 22–3 n.

The position of this address shows that the letter was packaged to be sent in the usual way, cf. 3989 introd. para. 3. A sheet join running vertically about 2 cm from the right edge of the front shows that the letter was written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

The recipient is addressed as 'my master' (1, 22), but what he receives is a continuous stream of orders and complaints about his failure to send letters and to reply properly to enquiries, so that he was almost certainly not in any way the sender's superior. The business is entirely private and consists of requests for goods and for information about people. The reference in 18 to *φόροι*, whether they are rents or taxes, comes in the context of the management of irrigated land and appears to represent a landowner's point of view.



τῷ δεσπότη μου (vac.) Εὐμαθίῳ  
 (vac.) Διογένῃς.  
 πολλάς ἀποστέλλων ἐπιστολάς διὰ πολλοῦ μόλις ἅπαρὰ σ[ο]ῦ  
 πεμπόμενα γ[ράμμ]ατα κομί'ζ'ομαι, ἃ σπανίως ἀποστέλλ'εῖς.  
 5 ἀπέστ'εῖλα καὶ νῦν καὶ διὰ κυμμάχου διαφέροντος Μέλανι τῷ  
 σπεκουλάτορι ἄλλας τρ'εῖς ἐπιστολάς. ἴν' οὖν ταύτας ὑποδέξῃ,  
 γράφω. τὰς ὑδρεῖα[ς] καὶ κύθρας καὶ βαυκάεις μοι ἀπόστιλον  
 διὰ τοῦ φέροντος τὰ ἐπιμηνίδια πλοίου. περὶ Φιλαδέλφου  
 οὐδέν μοι ἔγραψας. πῶς διάγ'εῖ; ποίησον Καλιοῦν τὸν  
 10 ἀπὸ Τόκα δοῦναί σοι τὸ φελόνιον Ἀθανασίου τοῦ βοηθοῦ, ἵνα  
 ἀποστίλῃς ἡμεῖν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ κεράμιον τυρῶν  
 ἀποσταλήτω ἡμεῖν. ἐλ[ε]αῖας ἀπόστιλον καὶ φακῆν  
 λελεπικμένην ὀλίγην καὶ σιτάριον ὀλίγον λελεπικμένον,  
 τοσοῦτον ὅσον καὶ πέρυσι ἀπεστάλη. τὰς κερέας τοῦ  
 15 κραβάκτου μοι ἀπόστιλον. (m. 2?) πολλακίς σοι ἔγραψα ἵνα μοι δηλώσῃς  
 περὶ Θεοδώρου, εἰ ἐπαύσατο ἀλγῶν τὸν ὀδόντα. εἰ ἐλάβετ[η] εἰς τὸν χόρτον  
 τῆς Ἀδέου τὸν Κορνηλίου, δῆλωλόν μοι, καὶ περὶ τοῦ λάκκου καὶ περὶ  
 θερινῶν ἔργων ἐν ταῖς μηχαναῖς καὶ εἰ οἱ φόροι συνεπληρώθησαν.  
 πῶς διάγει ἡ Διονυσία? (vac.) ἐρρώσθαί σε πολλοῖς  
 20 χρόνοις εὐχομαι,  
 κύριέ μου.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) τῷ δεσπότη μου (vac.) (m. 2?) ἔν Ὀξυρύγχῳ (design) (m. 1?) Εὐμαθίῳ  
 Διογένῃς σχολ(αστικός)

6 ἴον 7 γραφῶν?, ὑδρεῖα[ς]; l. ὑδρίας, κύθρας, ἀπόστειλον 10 δοῦναί: δο corr.; l. φαινόνιον;  
 ἵνα 11 l. ἀποστειλῃς ἡμῖν 12 l. ἡμῖν, ἀπόστειλον 14 l. κεραιάς? 15 l. ἀπόστειλον  
 17 l. Ἀδαίου, δῆλωσον

'To my master Eumathius, Diogenes. Although I have been sending you many letters over a long time, I hardly receive any letters dispatched by you, since you rarely send any. I sent just now also, by the armed guard who is attached to Melas the *speculator*, another three letters. So I write to you to take delivery of them. Send me the jars and the pots and the jugs by the boat which brings the monthly supplies. About Philadelphus you wrote me nothing. How is he getting on? Make Salius, the man from Toca, give you the cape belonging to Athanasius the assistant, so that you can send it to us here. And have a pot of cheeses sent to us. Send olives and a little husked lentil and a little husked wheat, the same amount that was sent last year. Send me the bed beams(?). (2nd hand?) I wrote often to you to let me know about Theodorus, whether his tooth has stopped aching. If you got the hay from Adaeu, belonging to Cornelius, let me know;



also about the cistern and about summer works in the irrigated fields and if the taxes (or money rents?) have been covered in full. How is Dionysia getting along?'

'I pray for your health for many years, my lord.'

Address:

(1st hand?) 'To my master Eumathius, (2nd hand?) in Oxyrhynchus, (1st hand?) Diogenes *scholasticus*'.

4 ἀποτέλλ'έ'ις. Most of the corrections, and all those relating to iotacisms, appear to be in the thinner pen which wrote lines 15–21. The insertion of τὰ in 3 looks like the first hand, that of zeta in 4 is too damaged to allow a judgement. See introd. for the suggestion that the sender corrected the letter as written by a clerk and added postscript, farewell formula, and the location in the address. Note that several iotacisms and phonetic spellings have been left uncorrected, e.g. ὕδρεια[ς], ἀπόστιλον (7), φελόνιον (10), ἀποστίλης ἡμῶν (11), κερίας (14).

5–6 διὰ κυμμάχου διαφέροντος Μέλανι τῷ σπεκουλάτορι. On κύμμαχοι see LVIII **3932** 11 n., citing A. Jördens, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 105–118. In that sixth century letter the armed messenger was attached to an *exceptor* who appears to have been a member of the staff of the *praeses Arcadiae*. Here it seems very likely that the *speculator* was also a member of one of the provincial *officia*, a member of the *militia officialis* rather than a proper soldier, see especially A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 566, 'Civil servants in many offices held military non-commissioned grades, survivals from the principate, long obsolete in the army of the day, rising to be *speculator*, *cornicularius* and *centurio princeps*, and finally on retirement *primipilus*'. Cf. BGU XIII 2332. 6–7 σπ. τάξεως ἡγεμονίας Ἀγουσταμνικῆς (l. ἡγεμον-, Ἀύγ-), SB XIV 11551. 3–4 σπ. τάξεως [ἡγεμονίας τῆς Θηβαΐ]δος.

Diogenes the sender could also have been attached to a provincial *officium* as a *scholasticus*, see 23 n.

The Rev. J. Chapa has kindly drawn our attention to P. Neph. 20 with its updated list of papyrus references to the *speculator* pp. 96–9, and to the study by C. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire* ii 735–7.

7 ὕδρεια[ς] (l. ὕδρι-). Cf. **4001** 24 n.

κύθρα (l. χύτρας). On the spelling, which is the predominant one in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 94. The χύτρα was a round cooking pot made on the wheel, see Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.v., and it had, or might have, handles or lugs, see LSJ s.v.

βαυκάλεις. On words for containers beginning βαυκαλ- see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 520–21. They denote a sort of pot with a narrow neck. The name is supposed to be Alexandrian (Athen. *Deipnosoph.* 11. 784b, βαύκαλις) and onomatopoeic, deriving from the sound a liquid made when poured in or out: Alex. Aphrod., *Problema*. 1. 94 διὰ τί τὰ λεγόμενα καυκάλια (l. βαυκάλια) ἐν τῷ πληροῦσθαι ὕδατος ψόφον τινὰ ἀποτελεῖ, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ φύσις, καὶ τὸ ποιὸν τοῦ ψόφου εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῶν μετέηγεκεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ φλοῖβος καὶ βορβορυγμός καὶ τὰ λοιπά; ὅτι τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἐν τῷ μὴ ἔχειν ὕδωρ ἀέρος πεπλήρωται, σώματος λεπτοτέρου τυγχάνοντος. ἐν οὖν τῷ καθεῖσθαι ἀθρόως εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ τῇ βαρύτητι διώκει τὸν ἀέρα ἕξω ὡς λεπτομερῆ. ... τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω βιάζεται τὸν ἀέρα, ὁ δὲ ἀήρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄνω τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ τούτου κατὰ διαδοχὴν γινομένου κυμβαίνει καὶ τὸν ψόφον πυκνῶς γίνεσθαι. Several pots of different sizes with narrow necks and fat bodies are illustrated in P. Fay. Pl. XIII.

It is perhaps worth suggesting that the reason the word βαυκάλιον appears throughout XVIII **2197** as a unit equivalent to 3,000 bricks, cf. XVI **2055** 42 (BL III p. 140), P. Mert. I 44. 2, could possibly be that the bricks were baked, three thousand at a time, in a kiln shaped like the pot of this name, which might have been rather similar to the now obsolete bottle kilns of which a few nineteenth century examples still survive in England. The brick is specified as baked brick, ὀπτόπλωθος, in both **2055** and **2197**; if the suggestion is correct, the πλύνθος of P. Mert. I 44 has to be understood as baked brick, rather than the commoner mud brick, simply dried in the sun.

The Alexandrian church called Baucalis, cf. Youtie, op. cit. 521 n. 14, may perhaps have been a circular, tholus-shaped building.

8 διὰ τοῦ ... πλοίου. The sender was evidently not in Oxyrhynchus, cf. 22, but in some place which could be reached by boat from there.

ἐπιμηνίδα. Cf. L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post Ptolemaic Papyri* 81–2.

9 Καλιούν. For the declension cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 60 (vii).

10 *Τόκα*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 205–6; add II **299** 3 (see *ZPE* 66 (1986) 91 n. 3), LV **3783** 7, PSI Congr. XVII 26. 4, 5, 13, SB XVI 12324. 3, 12579. 5 (*Τοκαείτας*), C. Pap. Gr. II. i 29. 6.

*φελόνιον*. Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 154 for various spellings; this is a Greek version of the Latin *paenula*, but it occurs repeatedly in the papyri with the internal consonants in reverse order, and this has been so persistent that Modern Greek has *φαιλόνιον*, ‘chasuble’. On the late Byzantine church vestment see N. K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* 32–4. On the ancient garment, one of several styles of hooded cape, see L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* 87–92, J. P. Wild, *Britannia* 17 (1986) 353 n. 117.

*Ἀθανασίου τοῦ βοηθοῦ*. An Athanasius *βοηθός* of unknown origin in a document of 354, P. Stras. V 329. 1, may be too early; possibly relevant is another who was the recipient of an order to pay of AD 390, XIV **1753**. The order was issued by a man called Limenius, a name which appears in other papyri of about the same date, see LI **3639** 4 n. (correct **1752** there to **1753**), but there is no stronger indication that all the men of this name are identical, nor is there any strong indication that our Athanasius and the one in **1753** are the same. That one was presumably assistant to Limenius in a private capacity. The title of ‘assistant’ is extremely common over a long period, and is found also in connection with public officials such as the strategus and logistes as well as with compulsory public servants such as the *δεκάπρωτοι* and other tax collectors. Note also the *βοηθ(ῶ) σχολ(αστικοῦ)* in CPR XIV 39. 6. It is possible that Athanasius was the assistant of Diogenes himself in this case.

12–13 *φακὴν λελεπισμένην*. On lentils in general cf. LI **3628** 13 n. Unhusked lentils were sometimes referred to as *δόφακος*, see XVIII **2190** 61, P. Bouriant 13. 5, P. Ryl. IV 627. 79, possibly also PSI VI 683. 33 (BL VII 236), and certainly P. Oslo III 191. 2.

14–15 *τὰς κερέας* (l. *κεραίας*?) ... *τοῦ κραβάκτου*. Most commonly found as a nautical term for a yard or spar which carries a sail, *κεραία* can mean a beam and probably any long piece of wood with a substantial but comparatively narrow section. In connection with a bed these would seem most likely to be the longest timbers which run from each side of the head to the foot, but it is not obvious why they should come separately from the legs and the necessary cross-pieces. Since this interpretation seems difficult, perhaps it is possible that there is some confusion with *κειρία*, the latticework of a bed, made of reed or grass rope criss-crossed in the manner of leather straps, cf. C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* iii. 2, p. 1015 col. ii (s.v. *lectus*), LXX *Proverbs* 7. 16, and for a well illustrated account of beds of the Pharaonic period Hollis S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* 102–6, 123, 142–5. For papyri see especially P. Freib. IV 53. 34–5, *ἀγόρασον διὰ Μάρωνος κ(ε)ιρίας κλιῶν δύο* (I BC). The word may have the same sense in P. Cair. Zen. I 59069. 9, 11, IV 59609. 2, PSI IV 341. 7, 387. 4, VI 616. 33, VII 854. 10 (all III BC), and SB XIV 12103. 14 (*κηρίων*; from *ZPE* 24 (1977) 82–8; I/II AD., where perhaps some connection with beeswax is not excluded). In P. Hels. I 7. 7, 8, 10 *κ(ε)ιριῶν* among woven goods probably means ‘bandage’, cf. NT *Eu. Jo.* 11. 44 (of the grave-wrappings of Lazarus). However, *κεραία* and *κειρία* are not homophones, so that the confusion must be more than phonetic, if this conjecture is to be right.

15 *κραβάκτου*. For the spelling of this word with kappa tau, which is usual in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 66.

*μοι*. The position of this word seems odd, but iota is very clear. Cf. **4003** 35 and n.

See introd. for the change of writing in this line.

17 *τῆς Ἀδέου* (l. *Ἀδαίου*) sc. *κώμης*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 23–4; add P. Hels. 23. 12, LV **3805** 118.

*δήλωλον* (l. *δήλωσον*). The repetition of the lambda in place of sigma is clearly accidental, see *δηλώσει* correctly in 15. For a similar accident cf. LVI **3859** 52–3 *πολλοῖς χρόχοις* (l. *χρόνοις*).

17–18 These enquiries about a cistern, summer work in irrigated fields, and the full payment of rents in money (or taxes), look as if they are made on Diogenes’ own behalf and that he was the owner of the land in question. For *μηχαναί* in the sense of ‘(fields irrigated by) machines’ cf. LV **3803** introd. The *φόροι* are ambiguous; *φόρος* often means money rent, as opposed to *ἐκφόριον*, rent in kind, but it can also mean tax due to the state.

22–3 We expect the address to be by the hand of the clerk who wrote the main part of the letter. The style is less formal, but there is no special reason to doubt that this is the case for the main elements. However, *ἐν Ὁξυρύγχῳ* has been added in the lighter hand and at a slightly higher level in the space between the first half of the address and the design which marks the place where the binding was tied round the letter.

22 Ὀξυρύνχῳ. This form of the name of Oxyrhynchus is very rare, see LVI 3860 9-10 n., adding P. Wash. Univ. II 108. 3, 8, but here there seems no doubt of the reading or interpretation, cf. 4006 12, so that in 3860 9 and 10 Ὀξύρυνχον (= -ρυνχον rather than -ρύγχων sc. πόλις) should be thought less unlikely now.

23 Διογένης σχολ(αστικός). No *scholasticus* of this name is known either from the list in Axel Claus, Ὁ σχολαστικός (Diss. Köln 1965) 20-43 or from the supplements by P. J. Sijpesteijn, ΖΡΕ 70 (1987) 144-6, and T. Gagos, ΖΡΕ 79 (1989) 272; add Gerontius from CPR XIV 39. 3. The term denotes a man with legal training. Some *scholastici* were attached to high officials, see Claus 132-9, so that it is possible that Diogenes was a colleague of Melas the *speculator*, see 5-6 n., in some provincial *officium*, cf. P. Berl. Zill. 5. 5-6 χ[ο]λαστικοῦ τάξεως ἡγεμο[ν]ίας Θ[ηβαΐδος], and especially the *scholastici* in the list of praesidial officials in CPR XIV 39. 2, 3, 6, with 2 n., although it must be pointed out that this list does not contain any *speculatores*. Of course the indication is tenuous; *scholastici* acted as courtroom lawyers, judges, municipal and imperial officials.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

### 4003. DIDYMUS TO ATHANASIOS

64 6B.56/G(4-5)a

11 × 28.5 cm

Fourth/fifth century

The grammar of this letter is shaky and the spelling vulgar, which comes as a surprising contrast with the subjects discussed. The sender appears to be taking the initiative in the building of a church and to be giving authority for money to be spent on it; he issues instructions about estate matters in a manner which suggests he was either the owner or a very senior manager; he requests copies of proceedings in the court of an Augustal prefect. In the first half of his letter Didymus urges Athanasius to put his best efforts into a project of building a church. The financial resources for this part of the work, which was mostly concerned with stones and pillars probably to be made out of the stones, consisted of the price of a donkey, unstated, and three gold *solidi*. We do not learn where the church was to be; perhaps a village is more likely than the metropolis. The stones were to be transported on a fishing-boat from the Oxyrhynchite village of Tampemu in the eastern toparchy, probably the place now marked on the maps as Tambu.

In the second half of his letter, which is on the back of the sheet, he gives instructions which are chiefly about the management of an estate, round which he wants Athanasius to make a tour of inspection and to see to the repair or equipment of irrigation machines. The stewards (προνοητάς, 41), whom Athanasius was to keep at work, were presumably local managers on this estate and their plurality implies that the estate was not small. Didymus also asks for records of proceedings held before an Augustal prefect, probably the prefect of Egypt, to be sent to him because he needs them, or will need them, in Pelusium. Pelusium and Oxyrhynchus both belonged to the province of Augustamnica from its creation in AD 341, see L 3576 introd., until the smaller province of Arcadia was created with Oxyrhynchus as its metropolis.

The handwriting is large and, like the grammar and spelling, rather clumsy, although probably not unpractised. Such hands are among the most difficult to date,



but it looks as if it belongs to the late fourth or to the fifth century. The title of *praefectus Augustalis* is said to have been first bestowed on Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus as prefect of Egypt in AD 367, see A. H. M. Jones etc., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* i 876, which gives a conservative *terminus post quem* for this document. The fact that this person involved in agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite area was travelling to Pelusium, quite probably to transact business in the court of the *praeses* of Augustamnica, suggests that it dates from before the creation of Arcadia, which is first mentioned in a document in Stud. Pap. XX 117 of AD 411, cf. LI p. 75, three years after the death of the emperor Arcadius, from whom the province evidently derived its name. The date of its foundation is not known, so there remains a possibility that it dates back even into the reign of Theodosius I.

A sheet-join running vertically very close to the right edge shows that the letter begins along the fibres of the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut. Lines 1–30 are written in this way, parallel with the short sides of the piece, with 29–30 containing a farewell formula, but line 31, which is written downwards in the left margin, continues the text from the end of 28. Then the sheet was turned over and the letter was continued on the back, written upwards with respect to the first side, along the fibres of the verso of the original roll and parallel with the long sides of the piece. There is no address or sign of tying, but repeating patterns of damage indicate that the letter was rolled up from the right edge as was normal and then squashed flat. The absence of address probably means simply that it was delivered by a messenger who knew the destination well, although it might have been put into a parcel of goods.

κυρίῳ μου ἀ[δ]ελφῶ Ἀθανασίῳ,  
Δίδυμος.

τὸν ἐπωράνιον σου  
θεόν, οὕτως νυν-  
5 φεύσεις τὰ ἀρσενικά σου  
τέκτα, πρὸ πάντων  
χρεώστην με ἔχω(ν)  
τῆς μεγάλης ταύ-  
της χάριτος, ἐπέιθες  
10 σεαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-  
σίαν. καὶ τὴν τιμὴν  
τοῦ ὄνου καὶ τᾶλλα  
τρία ὀλοκότ[ι]να,  
ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνάλουσο(ν)



- 15 καὶ τελίωσον τὴν ἐκ-  
λησίαν. ἤδη γὰρ εὗρε(ν)  
τοὺς λίθους Ἰσιαείας  
ὁ λαοξόος. συνεφώνη-  
σεν οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἄν-  
20 θρωπον. καὶ ἀγόρασο(ν)  
δύο χρυσίνους  
καὶ ἀρκῶντε. τελίωσο(ν)  
τοὺς κίονας. ἀπὸ Τα(μ)-  
πεμοῦ ποιήσον τὸ  
25 ἀλιωτικὸν πρὸ τῆς  
ἀποβάσεως ἐνε-  
κείν. παρακαλῶ μὴ  
παρήδεις μου ταύτη(ν)  
(vac.) ἐ[ρρ]ῶσθαί ς[ε] εὔχομαι  
30 (vac.) [π]ολλοῖς χρ[ό]νοι[ς].

Downwards in the left hand margin:

τὴν ἀξίωσειν. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς σοῦ ποιεῖς.

Back, upwards along the fibres:

- κατασκευῆ(ν) τῶν μηχανῶν τῆς οὐσίας ἐτύμασον.  
περίερθε τὴν οὐσίαν. ἀπέστηλά σοι καὶ Ἐορτάσιον σχολάδων `σοί'.  
[[. . . . .]] τὰ ὑπομνήματα ὅλα τοῦ Ἄγουσταλίω ἃ ἔχεις φω(ν)-  
35 ὄν, `μέλω ἐφηδῖν ὡς χρή', μετὰ σπουδῆς μ[ο]ι ἀπόστιλον. [χ]ρί-  
αν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχω ἐν Πηλωσίω. μὴ ἀνα. . . η. εἰ. ε. ε. . . . .  
τῆς ἐλευθέρου μου καὶ ἐν τούτῳ με χρεώστην με ἔχεις,  
καθὼς καὶ αὐτὴ σε προσε[[. . .]]τρέψατο. θαρσῶ δὲ ὅτι μάλ-  
λον τὰ πάντα ποεῖς ὡς ἐμὲ παρόντος, εἶνα δυνηθῶμεν  
40 τὰ δημόσια εὐρεῖν. μὴ ἀμελήσεις δὲ τοὺς κίονας. ἐπίγε  
τοὺς προνοητάς. ἐλεύθερον θηρωρὸν εὐρέ.

3 ω corr. or rewritten; l. ἐπουράνιον    4-5 l. νυμφεύσεις    6 l. τέκνα    7 εχῶ    9 l. ἐπίθεσ  
10-11 l. ἐκκλησίαν    13 l. ὀλοκότινα    14 αναλουσῶ; l. ἀνάλωσον    15 l. τελείωσον  
15-16 l. ἐκκλησίαν    16 ευρεῖ    17 ἰσιαείας    20 αγορασῶ    22 l. ἀρκοῦνται?; τελιωσῶ;

1. τελείωσον	23-4 τὰ πεμου	25 1. ἀλιευτικόν	26-7 1. ἐνεγκεῖν	28 1. παρίδης; ταυτῆ
31 1. ἀξίωσιν	32 1. ἐποίμασον	33 1. περιέλθε, ἀπέστειλα, χολάζοντα		34 1. Ἀγουσταλίου
34-5 φῶ ον; 1. ἔχεις φωνῶν	35 1. μέλλω ἐπιδεῖν, ἀπόστειλον	35-6 1. χρεῖαν		36 1. Πηλουσίω
37 1. τούτω	39 1. ἐμοῦ, ἴνα	40 1. ἀμελήσης, ἐπέιγε	41 θηρωρον: ρ corr. from λ; 1. θυρωρόν	

'To my lord brother Athanasius, Didymus. By your god in heaven, as you shall find wives for your male children, before all, with me as your debtor for this great favour, devote yourself to the church! As for the price of the donkey and the other three *solidi*, spend out of these and finish the church, for Isiäeias the stonemason has found the stones already, so he made an agreement with the man. And buy two *solidi* (worth of stones?) and they will be enough. Finish the columns. Have the fishing-boat transport (them) from Tampemu before the river falls. I beg you, do not disregard this request of mine, for indeed you are acting for the sake of my soul and of yours.'

'I pray for your health for many years.'

'Make ready for the repair of the irrigation machines of the estate. Make a tour of the estate. I sent you Heortasius too to be at your disposal. All the records of proceedings of the Augustal of which you have been shouting, 'I am going to examine (them) properly', send off to me speedily, for I have need of them in Pelusium ... (of?) my wife and in this you will have me as your debtor, as she herself urged you. I am confident that you will do everything as if I were present all the more in order that we may be able to find the public taxes. Don't neglect the columns. Drive the stewards on. Find a free man to be doorkeeper.'

3-4 τὸν ἐπωράνιον (1. ἐπουράνιον) σου θεόν. See H. Ljungvik, *Eranos* 27 (1929) 170-1 for the oath without an introductory particle, μά or νή, citing VI 941 8 (punctuate ... *μόνον παρέχε μοι. τὸν δὲ θεόν σου, εὐθὺς ... δήλωσόν μοι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπόκρισιν*), XVI 1841 4, 1859 4-6, PSI VIII 973: 3 (punctuate ... *πάνν. καὶ τὸν θεόν σου, εἰπὲ τῶ ἀδελφῶ ...*), 7-8 (punctuate ... *Καλονύμω. τ[ὸ]ν θεόν σου, ... κκύλλησον εἰς τὸ νομικίον ...*), 9-10 (punctuate ... *[...] αἰ. τὸν θεόν σου, διζον τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην Θεοδώρω ...*). Cf. S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit* 95 n. 1, adding P. Ross.-Georg. III 18. 8.

For confusion of *ou* and *ω* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 208-211, cf. here lines 14(?), 22(?), 34, 36.

4-6 For this unusual expression there is a close parallel, the only one known, in P. Ant. I 44. 14-15 ἀλλ' οὕτως νυμφεύσης (1. -σει?) τὰ παιδία σου τῆς ἀξιώσεως μου μνημόνευ<ς>ον. The future tense, as here, is probably more appropriate than the subjunctive. That letter is assigned to the late fourth or fifth century, and by coincidence also mentions Pelusium, cf. 36 here, but it is from Antinoopolis and has no relation with ours.

17 Ἰσιαείας. This name is unknown, unless it is a garbled version of Ἡσαΐας. If so, the initial iota is the phonetic equivalent of eta, cf. Gignac, op. cit. i 235-6, while *ει* is for iota, op. cit. i 189-191. The second iota would be a case of 'vowel development', op. cit. i 310-311 (no example after sigma).

18 λαοξόος. See Gignac, op. cit. ii 37. Cf. XLVI 3308 5 n. 3308 of AD 373 gives a *terminus ante quem* for the reappearance in Byzantine times of the classical form, displaced in earlier papyri by λαξός.

20-22 The instruction is probably to buy stones to the value of two *solidi*, cf. e.g. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* ii 672-3 πέμψης ... ἐριοξύλου δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, 'send ... twenty drachmas' worth of cotton', even if in other contexts the papyri speak of buying *solidi* by paying for them in the subsidiary coinage, e.g. LVIII 3401.

The resources available were three *solidi* plus the price, unstated, of a donkey (11-14), and out of these (ἐξ αὐτῶν 14) the church was to be completed.

Comparison of τελ(ε)ίωσον τοὺς κίονας here (22-3) with τελ(ε)ίωσον τὴν ἐκ<κ>λησίαν above (15-16) suggests that the stones of 17 were intended to make up these columns. The price of 2 *solidi* represents  $\frac{1}{36}$  of a *libra* of gold, or in modern weight just under 9 grammes. In I 134 of AD 569 a chief of an association of quarrymen (expand κεφαλ(αιωπῆς) τῶν λαοτόμων 15-16, similarly 33) contracted to supply and deliver 200 large stones for 1 *solidus*. In XVI 1911 166-8 of AD 557 the Apion estate bought 150 large stones from quarrymen at 1 *solidus* less (a discount of) 4½ carats. These texts give some clue to the extent of the work, although our ideas are bound to remain vague, especially since the sums given here refer only to the end of the work on the church and we do not know what preceded. On church building in Egypt see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources ... des églises* 105-9, esp. 107 on XVI 2041, an impressive list of stones bought for building work on a church of St. Philoxenus, presumably the one in Oxyrhynchus, cf. XI 1357 24, 38, 58, 64.

22 ἀρκῶνται. It is only remotely possible that this could be jussive subjunctive, 'let them suffice', cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 250–253 (§§554–561, esp. 560); it is more likely that it stands for ἀρκοῦνται, cf. 3–4 n. para. 2, the present tense for the future, *ibid.* 102–105 (§§214–219), 'they will be enough'.

23–4 Τα(μ)πεμοῦ. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 188, with the map at the end of the book. We know that it was in the Eastern toparchy and it seems that the ancient name survives in the place called Tambu.

25 ἀλιωτικόν = ἀλιευτικόν. For this spelling cf. SB V 8247. 20 πορόεσθε for πορεύεσθε, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 234, where it is the sole example of its type.

26 ἀποβάεως, 'fall of the Nile flood'. See SB XVI 12312. 14 (25 BC), P. Lond. IV 1346. 10, 1465 (descr.; both 8th cent.), and especially P. Mich. inv. 5795 (O. M. Pearl, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 51–9; with D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil* 46–8) of the second century AD, which gives measurements for the fall of the flood water and repeatedly contrasts ἀπόβ(ασις) with its opposite ἀνάβ(ασις), 'rise of the flood', cf. 4004 12.

29–30 There was evidently a strong feeling that the bottom right hand corner of the sheet was the appropriate place for the farewell formula, cf. LVI 3865 34–7 n. In this case it has been crowded in there in a smaller, very cursive style, although it would have fitted much more comfortably at the end of the letter on the other side. It could possibly be in a second hand, which would not be unusual, since even senders who made use of an amanuensis often wrote their own farewell, but the ink and weight of the strokes seem much the same.

31 For the common practice of writing lines in the left margin cf. LV 3814 29–30 n. Note that the passage of Cicero cited there was mentioned already by G. Zereteli, P. Jernstedt, P. Ross.-Georg. III 1. 28 n.

32 κατασκευή(ν). For loss of nasals see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111–114.

μηχανῶν. At this date μηχανή can mean the land associated with an irrigation machine as well as the machine itself, see 4002 17–18 n., but here the primary meaning seems appropriate.

ἐτύμασον = ἐτοίμασον. Cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 197–9.

33 περίερθε = περίελθε. Cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 102–7, esp. 105 4b. 2.

χολάδων = χολάζοντα. For interchange of delta and zeta cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 76. For the tendency of the nominative to predominate over the oblique cases of the participle see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 357 (§879. 1–3).

34 Ἀγουσταλίω = Ἀγουσταλίου. Ἀγ- for Ἀγ- is frequent, see Gignac, *op. cit.* i 228; on ω for ου see 3–4 n. para. 2.

The fact that proceedings before the Augustal prefect were to be used in Pelusium in Augustamnica, see *intro.*, is an indication of the application of his authority in the praesidial provinces of Egypt, cf. XLVI PP. 93–4.

34–5 ἔχισ φων(ν)δν = ἔχεις φωνῶν, 'you have been shouting'. On periphrastic perfects with ἔχω as the auxiliary see R. Kühner, B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik*<sup>3</sup> II. ii 61–2 (§482. 11); for late Greek, in which it seems that present participles are less rare, see D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* 24–5. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 307 and B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 240 (§525) mention the fact that the modern language regularly has ἔχω as an auxiliary, but they cite from the papyri only XVI 1875 12–13 εἶρηκῶς ... ὡς ταῦτα ἀποκρότως ὑμῖν ἔχει δοθησόμενά μοι δι' ὑμῶν, 'having said ... that he would have them given me by you immediately', which looks extremely idiosyncratic. Better perhaps is XIX 2228 39–40 (ἴνα 38) ... [καὶ πρό]νοιαν ποιήσῃ τοῦ ἐκτενῶς αὐτὰ (sc. θρέμματα) τρέφεσθαι, ἐμοί τε δηλῶσαι ὡς ἔχ[εις] πεποιηκῶς, 'so that you may ... and may take care that they (the animals) are reared carefully and that you inform me how you have acted'. Although inspection of the original confirms that ἔχ[εις] is probable, and that no part of εἶμι is likely, cf. Gignac ii 305–7, some residual doubt is inevitable when the usage is so rare and there is damage to the text. Here too there is enough damage for the text not to be above all suspicion, but this interpretation is hard to resist.

The verb φωνεῖν is not a neutral term for 'say'. In proceedings we often find it used for the shouted utterances of the crowd, e.g. XXIV 2407 3, 11, 15, 18, 19 etc., which suggests that there is something uncomplimentary in the expression here.

35 μέλω = μέλλω. On the simplification of double consonants and the gemination of single ones see Gignac, *op. cit.* i 154–65, esp. 155.

ἐφηδῖν = ἐπιδείν. The iotacisms are routine; the false aspiration is almost universal in this word, cf. Gignac, *op. cit.* i 136–7.

For the position of μ[ο]ι, which seems odd at first sight, cf. 4002 15, P. Fouad 79. 7–8, P. Strasb. IV 286. 11, SB VI 9017 No. 9. 9.



36 Πηλωσίω = Πηλουσίω. Cf. 3-4 n. para. 2.

This may indicate that the letter was written from Pelusium, but it is also possible that ἔχω has a future sense, 'I shall have need of them in Pelusium', cf. 22 n.

For the implications of the sender's journey to Pelusium on legal business see introd., where it is argued that the relation between Oxyrhynchus and Pelusium seen in this document is an indication that it should be dated before the foundation of Arcadia.

The damage at the end of the line does not seem insurmountable, but so far nothing plausible has been found among the many possible readings.

37 For ἡ ἑλευθέρα, 'wife', see e.g. CPR V 22. 4 n.; cf. 4004 4.

38 προε[... ]τρέψατο. It is virtually certain that προετρέψατο was intended, but the rewriting and the damage make it difficult to see what went wrong. The first omicron may have been rewritten too.

41 προνοητάς. Cf. introd. para. 2, comparing LV 3804 introd. on the functions of the stewards of the Apion estates, with due allowances for the large scale of the Apion enterprise. There is the possibility that these are ecclesiastical stewards. We have evidence, see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources ... des églises* 144-9 that at least the episcopal churches had finance managers bearing this title and that rich churches had more than one προνοητής (XVI 1894). However, if the church here is just being built, it seems unlikely that it would have landed estates large enough to require more than one steward, so it is perhaps more likely that they are working for some secular estate, one which Didymus owns or has important functions in also.

ἐλεύθερον θηρωρόν (I. θυρωρόν). There is an implication here that a doorkeeper might be expected to be a slave if there was no statement to the contrary, cf. already A. Calderini, M. Mondini, 'Repertorio per lo studio delle letter private' in *Studi della Scuola Papirologica di Milano* ii 109-248: 'θυρωρός, portiere, generalmente schiavo' (149), cf. I. Biežuńska-Małowist, *L'Esclavage* i 73, 75 n. 60. Compare perhaps SB XII 11169 (from S. Daris, *Stud. Pap.* 13 (1974) 39-43), where Βερενείκη παιδίσκη [ (9) is followed by Ἀθηναῖδι θυρωρούςη . . [ (10), cf. 13 Αἰβη Ἀραβίςση θυρωρο[ύςη, where the ethnic may well imply servile status.

In this context the post may well be that of doorkeeper to the church, cf. I 141 3-4 θυρουρ(ῶ) τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου (AD 503), P. Princ. II 87. 14-15 θυρουρῶ τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου (AD 612). We learn very little from the papyri about the Christian church's opposition to slavery, see J. A. Straus in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 10. 1 p. 897, but it may very well be the reason for the insistence on a free doorkeeper, perhaps even if he is not to be the doorkeeper of the church.

θηρωρόν. Read θυρωρόν. For eta replacing upsilon in this word see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 263, citing P. Med. II 77 (=SB VI 9509). 4, 9: θηλουροῦ, -ός; this parallel also applies here to the first rho, which is corrected from lambda, cf. *ibid.* 103. Note too that the dictionary spelling θυρωρός is less common in the papyri than θυρουρός, *ibid.* 211.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4004. THEODORUS TO CANOPUS

68 6B.23/J(1)a

17 × 31 cm

Fifth century

At the beginning Theodorus offers Canopus condolences on the death of his wife (1-7), but as usual in papyrus letters this subject is dropped quickly and other everyday matters are raised, cf. LV 3819 introd., esp. para. 3 for this peculiarity. Theodorus then invites Canopus and another man called Valentinus to come and visit him at a village to which they are to be conveyed by boat. It is the season of the Nile flood, and since this is supposed to be news to Canopus, the flood must only just have begun, which it usually did about mid-July. Canopus is asked to bring with him various textiles which had been to the cleaner. These belonged to at least three people, whose names are given. The body of the letter ends with greetings to two other men, Didymus



and Philoxenus, and a general greeting to 'all your people'. A second hand then adds a conventional farewell formula, followed by a postscript saying that he did not send some wheat to Canopus so that it could be given to him when he arrived.

The body of the letter, like the address on the back, was presumably written by a clerk. His hand is a good big upright cursive, with many exaggerated risers and descenders. His spelling includes some iotacisms, but is otherwise good. The farewell and postscript are in a more modest sloping cursive, though this too has a few exaggerated descenders. It is certainly the hand of Theodoros himself. It is a pity that we are not given any titles or any other firm clue to the social context of the people involved, but the general impression is that of comfortable middle or upper class life.

A sheet join running vertically about two thirds of the width from the left edge shows that the letter is written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which this piece of papyrus was cut. The address runs downwards along the fibres of the back. Its position shows that the letter was packaged to be sent in the normal way, rolled up with the right edge of the document inside, cf. 3989 introd. para. 3, although in this case there is no design to mark the central position where the binding passed round the package.

κυρίῳ μου ἀλη[θ]ῶς [τ]ιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Κανώπῳ,  
(vac.) Θ[εόδ]ωρος.

πάνυ ἐλυπήθημεν [ἀ]κο[ύ]ς[α]ντές τι π[αθεῖν Μ]ακαρίαν  
τὴν σὴν ἐλευθέραν, 'κα[ὶ οὐκ]' [. ] ἀλ[όγ]ως τοσοῦτον ὃ υἱός σου  
5 Γρατιανὸς ἐπόθησεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἔτι δὲ οἱ  
ἄλλοι αὐτῆς υἱοί. πλὴν τί δυνάμε[θα] ποιῆσαι  
πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον; καταξίωσον οὖν σεαυτὸν  
παραμυθήσασθαι καὶ σκυλμὸν ὑπ[ο]μ[ε]ί[ν]ν[αι] καὶ  
ἐλθεῖν πρὸς μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου Οὐαλεντίνου  
10 ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ. χρεῖαν γὰρ ἔχω τῆς εὐγενίας <σου> καὶ πάλιν  
ποιῶ καὶ διὰ σκάφους προπεμθῆναι. μὴ [ο]ῦν  
ὀκνήσῃς, ὅτι ἀνάβασίς ἐστιν. ἐρχόμενος δὲ καταξίωσον  
ἐνέγκε [. ] ὅσα [c] ἔχει ἔ' γνάψιμα. εἰς δέ: στιχάριον  
Ναθαναήλ, ῥάχνη λευκή, στιχάριον Κυγκλητικῆς,  
15 μαφόριον τῆς Κύρας, στιχάριον Κύρας.  
προσαγορεύω Δίδυμον καὶ Φιλόξενον  
καὶ πάντας τοὺς σούς.

(m. 2) ἐρρώσθαί σε εὔχομαι  
χρόνοις πολλοῖς, κύριε

20

τιμιώτατε ἄδελφε.

περὶ τοῦ κύτου μὴ ἀμφίβαλλε. ἐγὼ οὐκ  
ἔπεμψα αὐτὸν ἵνα σοὶ ἐλθόντι π[α]ρα-  
μετρηθῇ.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) κυρίῳ μου ἀληθῶς (vac.) τιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ Κανώπῳ  
Θεόδωρος.

4 υἱος      6 υἱοὶ      10 l. εὐγενείας      11 l. σε, προπεμφθῆναι      13 l. ἐνέγκαι      22 ἵνα

‘To my truly most honoured lord brother Canopus, Theodorus. We were much grieved (to hear the fate of Macaria) your wife, (and it is understandable that) your son Gratianus mourned her so much, (and also) her other sons. But what can we do against mortality? So please comfort yourself and make the effort and come to me with my lord Valentinus at Neson. For I have need of your kind self, and again(?) I shall have you brought by boat. Do not hesitate, for the river has risen. When you come please bring all the cleaned clothes that you have. Here is the list: Nathanael’s tunic, a white blanket(?), Synclitice’s tunic, Cyra’s cape, Cyra’s tunic. I greet Didymus and Philoxenus and all your people.’

(2nd hand) ‘I pray for your health for many years, most honoured lord brother.’

‘As for the wheat, don’t worry. I didn’t send it myself so that it could be measured out to you when you come.’

Address: (1st hand?) ‘To my truly most honoured lord brother Canopus, Theodorus.’

1 Above ἀλη[ there is an unexplained horizontal stroke running to the edge of a gap c. 1 cm wide beyond which there are no remains. It could possibly be the left hand part of a simple Christian cross or of the so-called monogrammatic cross (✠), cf. LVI 3871 1–2 n. The trace does not suit χμγ, cf. LVI 3862 1 n., or the symbol normally transcribed π(αρά), cf. LVI 3867 1 n.

3–5 The damage in these lines makes the exact text doubtful, but there seems to be no doubt that it was the wife of Canopus who died.

A low trace of mu makes the plural ἐλυπήθημεν virtually certain. For ἐλυπήθην ἀκούσας cf. P. Lund. II 3. 5–6, P. Mich. XIV 679. 20, XII 1481 4–5. For πάσχειν τι without ἀνθρώπινον cf. P. Eleph. 2. 3–6 (*quater*), P. Tebt. I 44. 27, M. Chr. 284. 19. There are two odd traces rather far above the line which would fall in the lacuna postulated by the restoration of τῆ π[αθεῖν M]ακαρίαν, which in itself is rather cramped. If something had to be added above the line this might account for what seems on the present view to be surprising concision. γίν[εσθαι μ]ακαρίαν, ‘become blessed, die’, has also been considered, but no parallel has been found and -ές τῆ compares very well with the same letters in ἔστιν (12). For acc. and inf. after ἀκούειν cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 331 (§801), F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>15</sup> 327 (§397. 1). καὶ ἔτι δέ seems to occur only in the damaged text of P. Strasb. VIII 701. 19, and therefore must be suspect here, especially when ἔτι δέ καὶ is so common; the traces do not suit ἐνθάδε, ἀλλ’ οὐδέ or ὡδέ, but (-)δε seems certain.

4–6 ὁ υἱός σου ... οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῆς υἱοί. No firm conclusions can be drawn because of the loose use of terms of relationship in the papyri, cf. 3988 introd. para. 1, but taken at face value these phrases would suggest that Gratianus was the son of Canopus and Macaria, while her other sons were from a previous relationship or relationships.

6 For πλήν = ἀλλά cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>15</sup> 379–80 (§449).

8 κυλμὸν ὑπ[ο]μειν[ε]ν[αι]. Cf. esp. I 125 13–14 ὑπομείναι βλάβην ἢ ζημίαν ἢ ὄχλησιν ἢ κυλμόν, 16–17 ὑ. βλάβην ἢ ὄχλησιν ἢ κυλμόν, and on κυλμός generally A. Passoni dell’Acqua, *Aegyptus* 54 (1974) 197–202; several of her examples refer to the strains and fatigue of travelling. The Rev. Juan Chapa has kindly drawn

our attention to a new parallel in SB XVI 12980. 2 παρακαλῶν αὐτὴν (= τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδελφότητα) κυκλῶν ὑπομείναι ἕως ἐνταῦθα ... φέροντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ τὰ ... παιδία ... ἵνα ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν προσκ[υ]νήσεως, 'inviting you to make the effort to come here ... bringing with you your ... children too ... so that we can enjoy the pleasure of saluting you face to face'.

10 ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ. The convincing interpretation of this as a place name, rather than νήσω(ν) with a superfluous nasal (cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 112-4), we owe to the Rev. Juan Chapa. He refers especially to P. Nephros pp. 11-14 for the κόμη Νήσων of the Heracleopolite nome. It seems to have been near the boundary with the Cynopolite nome on the south and on the east bank of the Nile, probably opposite Oxyrhynchite territory on the west bank. The κ. Νήσων of SB I 1967, accepted as Oxyrhynchite in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 121, is probably the same place, likewise the ὄρμου Νήσων of XVI 1997 2.

εὐγενίας <ου> (l. -είας). Cf. H. Zilliacus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen* 47, 68. Correction to τῆς <ς> εὐγεν(ε)ίας might be more plausible palaeographically, and it is possible, cf. LV 3821 4, 6, PSI VII 843. 8, cf. 4-5, 836. 5, 7, 8, all three private letters, but P. Strasb IV 180. 2, τῇ σῆ εὐγενία, is the only occurrence of this form in a private letter available on the Ibycus (Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri), although it is common in contracts of the same period. The balance of the evidence suggests a preference for ἡ σῆ εὐγ. in contracts and ἡ εὐγ. ου in letters.

10-11 καὶ πάλιν ... προπεμ<φ>θῆναι. Professor Parsons, pointing out that προπέμω is used particularly with reference to a return journey, see *LSJ* s.v., suggests that in this case too the offer refers to transport for the return.

12 ἀνάβασις, 'high water'. Cf. 4003 26 n. on ἀπόβασις, 'low water'.

13 ἐνέγκε (l. ἐνέγκαι). See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 338-40, esp. 339.

γνάψιμα. *Add. lexx.* These were presumably clothes which had been sent to a fuller to go through the fulling process (γνάψις), cf. E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* 129-45. We may guess that the fulling establishment was in Oxyrhynchus, where this letter was found, and that people living in the country like Theodoros had to send their clothes to the city for professional cleaning. LIV 3766 iii is a price declaration from the Oxyrhynchite guild of fullers.

τσιχάριον. This was a tight shirt or tunic of linen, see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedik* 240, 56-9 n.

14 Ναθαναήλ. This biblical name is known in the papyri otherwise only from P. Lond. IV 1431. 33 (8th cent.).

ράχνη, 'blanket(?)'. This form of the word appears only in the papyri. P. Gen. 80. 7 has ῥάχνη α, which Wilcken (BL i 168 = *Archiv* 3 (1904-6) 404) corrected to ῥάχνη β, implying a neuter ῥάχνος, see *LSJ* s.v., but this seemed unlikely in view of the strong evidence for ἡ ῥάχνη, see also J. M. Diethart, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 79, *Analecta Papyrologica* 2 (1990) 89. Dr Paul Schubert has kindly looked again at the original and informs us that the numeral letter is very badly abraded, but that with the aid of a microscope its remains can clearly be seen as those of an alpha. The editor, Jules Nicole, made the only published suggestion about the nature of the textile, commenting, 'désigne-t-il un tissu très fin?', and leaving us to guess that he derived it from ἀράχνη and compared the weave with cobwebs.

Stud. Pal. III 407. 1 has ]λτ α ς (l. καὶ?) ραχνη πρασι<sup>ο</sup> εχ<sup>ου</sup>(<sup>αι</sup>) διλωρ[, i.e. ]λτ( ) α (καὶ) ῥάχνη πράσινο(ς) ἔχου(ς) διλωρ( ) [, '1 (cross-belt, βάλτιον?), and a leek green blanket with a double-striped(?) ...', cf. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary* s.v. *diloris*; or better perhaps, 'with a double stripe (of another colour)', cf. S. Daris, *ZPE* 85 (1991) 273, correcting P. Strasb. II 131. 8 to read μαφόριον λευκὸν ἡμιτριβῆν (l. -ές) διλωρον (for ed. pr. διδωρον) ἀπὸ ριζένης (l. -ζίνης) πορφύρας, 'a partly worn white cape with a double stripe of root purple'. Daris conjectures a substantival form of διλωρ( ) for Stud. Pal. III 407. 1.

P. Oslo III 161. 5 has a feminine accusative: ἔλαβον ... τὴν ῥάχνην. CPR VIII 65 is a list with feminine nominatives: 6 ῥ. λευκὴ χρυσοσημου(μένη) ..., 7 ῥ. κοκκηρά ..., 11 ῥ. κοκκηρά ..., 12 ῥ. χλωρά ..., 14 ῥ. χρυσοσημου(μένη) ... XVI 2058 22 is supposed to have the abbreviated form ραχνί(ον), see *LSJ Suppl.* s.v., but a photograph of the original, now in Cairo, shows no sign of abbreviation at this point, so although there is no formal objection to such a diminutive perhaps we should view this spelling as an iotacism, ῥάχνη α, '1 *rachne*', with iota as the phonetic equivalent of eta.

The most striking feature of this collection is the range of bright colours: white, white with a gold pattern, leek green, grass green, vermilion. Gold patterned alone is perhaps the same as white with a gold pattern. This encourages an otherwise obvious connection with Diocletian's price edict (S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedik*, or M. Giaccherio, *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum*) 7. 60-61, where a dyer is to be paid 16 den. for his work on a new *sagum* *sive rachanam* (*rachem* Aezani) = κάγου ἡ ῥακάνης (ῥακανοῦ Thelphousa, see



A. Petronotis, *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ* 26 (1973) 255–270, Pl. 32–3 = *SEG* 37 (1987) p. 102, no. 335 i 60; -ον is confirmed by the plates), 6 den. for work on an old one. The *sagum* was a moderately heavy rectangular blanket-like cloak, see L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* 104–9. In 19. 4–7 the Latin text refers repeatedly to a *rachana*, where the Greek has *ἐνδρομίς*; the *ἐνδρομίς* is best known as a wrap worn by athletes after taking exercise, see especially Martial IV 19, which suits the equation or comparison with the *sagum*, but these passages seem to refer to bedding or hangings:

4 [rachana ... pe]dum XVI [tinctoria \* MMD] = *ἐνδρομίς ἰς πατυλιῶνα μία ἔχουσα μήκους καὶ πλάτους πόδας 15' βαπτῆ \* ββφ'.*

'One furnishing(?) for a tent with a length and breadth of 16 feet, dyed den. 2,500'.

5 rachana optima grabata[ria] alba libr. XII \* MDC = *ἐνδρομίς καλλίστη κρεβατάρια λευκή λειτρῶν ιβ' \* γαχ.*

'Best quality white blanket(?) for a bed, weighing 12 pounds den. 1,600'.

6 rachana Arabica siue Damascena uel alterius ciuitatis tinctoria habita ratione ponderis lanae et plumaturae di(s)tra(h)ti debet = *ἐνδρομίς Ἀραβικὴ ἢ Δαμασκηνὴ ἢ ἑτέρας ὁποιασδήποτε βαπτῆ λόγου γενομένου τοῦ λειτρισμοῦ τῆς ἐρέας καὶ τῆς πλουμαρίσεως πιπράσκεισθαι δφείλει.*

'A dyed bedspread(?) from Arabia or Damascus or any other community should be sold with account taken of the embroidery and of the poundage of the wool'.

7 rachana rustica p. X \* D = *ἐνδρομίς ἰδιωτικὴ λι. ι' \* φ'.*

'A home-made(?) blanket(?) weighing 10 pounds den. 500'.

Similarly a fuller is to receive 30 den. for work on a new *rachana* = *ἐνδρομίδος ἧτοι ῥακάνης (ῥακάνης Theb.: 22. 4).*

The *rachana*, therefore, was not at all like a spider's web. An ordinary one weighed about ten Roman pounds, a little over seven of our pounds, a little under three and a quarter kilos. One of the best quality for use on a bed weighed twelve Roman pounds. The dyed and embroidered ones sound more like bed covers for show than blankets; the material of these is stated to be wool. The dyed tent furnishing, a massive square of sixteen Roman feet, nearly four and three quarter metres, was certainly no cobweb, although the exact use of it in connection with a tent is not obvious from the description.

Although the Greek transliteration of *rachanae* in Diocletian's edict is *ῥακάνης* (7. 60, with variant *ῥακανοῦ* in one copy; 22. 4, with variant *ῥακάνας* in one copy), the papyrus references to the *ῥάχνη* as a textile fabric, sometimes white, sometimes brightly coloured, sometimes encourage the identification. The Latin word was presumably accented on the first syllable.

One entry in G. Goetz, *CGL* V 327. 45, *racana* huitil sañ, i.e. *sax*(onice), provides both a Latin spelling closer to the Edict's Greek, *ῥακάνη*, and a confirmation of the meaning, since Anglo-Saxon *hwitel* means 'a whittle, cloak, mantle, blanket', J. Bosworth, T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* p. 577, cf. Suppl. pp. 583–4, s.v. (reference kindly supplied by Dr A. V. C. Schmidt). The Oxford *NED*, s.v. *whittle*, gives references for the word in various related senses, going down as late as 1871 for a dialect word 'whittle', explained in that case as equivalent to 'shawl'. A second entry in *CGL* V 623. 17, *raganus* (uel nelle *sup. scr.*) *coopertorium* uel *panniculus*, is obviously related, although the form of the lemma and the addition over the line present unsolved problems.

*Κυκλητικῆς*. This name, not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, can be found in W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen*, s.v. *Κυκλ-*, and in H. Solin, *Die gr. Personennamen in Rom* ii 982: one T. Antonius Syncreticus and two Syncreticae, a Papiria and an Aelia. Cf. A. H. M. Jones *et al.*, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii 1048 s.v. *Syncretica* (one; mid-5th cent.).

15 *μαφόριον*. See R. S. O. Tomlin in B. Cunliffe (ed.), *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, Vol. ii The Finds from the Sacred Spring, 192 (No. 61. 5 n.). It was a short cape covering neck and shoulders, usually worn by women, cf. Diocl. *Edict. de pret.* 29. 29 (Lauffer) = 27. 29 (Giacchero), A. Bazzero, *Studi della Scuola Papirologica di Milano* ii 95–102. In the Latin forms the stem invariably ends in -t-, *maforte*, *mafortium*, *mafurtium*; in the papyri *μαφόριον* occurs frequently, presumably by contamination with *φέρω*, but *μαφόριον* is more common and *μαφόριτης* is not uncommon, see S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 72–73.

*τῆς Κύρας* could perhaps be interpreted as *τῆς κυρᾶς* = *κυρίας*, 'the mistress's cape', see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302, followed by 'Cyra's tunic'. This may be better, but it is hard to dissociate the two identical spellings. If they do refer to the same person, the article may indicate that Cyra is mentioned in a particularly warm and friendly tone, 'ein gemütlich-familiärer Ton', E. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii. 2 p. 6 (§54. 1).

21 *ἐγώ*. The reading is doubtful; *ἐπεί*, which would make good sense, will not fit the traces.



## 4005. TO THEODOSIUS

68 6B.22/O(1-2)a

30.5 × 11.5 cm

Sixth century

It emerges that Theodosius was the employee of a landowner, just possibly as a steward of a country area (*προνοητής*), see 11-12 n. The sender called him 'brother' and in this case might have been his brother-in-law, because he wrote to reassure Theodosius about Mary, 'our sister and your wife', and later sent him a message from 'Abraham, your father-in-law'. The subjects are exclusively private: a cloak given to Mary, a failed attempt by the sender to get money due to Theodosius from the landowner, orders to buy a box and weaver's combs for another woman, who had the unusual name of Phoebadia, as well as a lump of iron worth a quarter of a *solidus*, presumably for the sender, and a whole *solidus* worth of Ascalonian jars for Abraham.

The writing is a rapid cursive, probably of the sixth century, too hasty to be beautiful, but very practised. There are some phonetic spelling errors and one or two repetitions due to haste, some corrected (3), others left unnoticed (5, 8, 10).

The long lines are written parallel with the height of the original roll from which the piece was cut and across the fibres of the recto, as is shown by a sheet join running through line 3, overlapping downwards. This is a format for letters which became popular in the high Byzantine period, probably in the sixth century, cf. LVI **3866-7, 3869-73**, below **4006-8**. It is in fact what is called *transversa charta*, see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 26-53, esp. 49-50 on the Byzantine period, although Turner devotes his discussion particularly to long documents. With this format the older prescript was not used and we only learn the names of the people from the addresses, which in many cases are damaged by dirt and abrasion, as here, where there are also heavy blots to make it even less legible.

For dispatch the letter was folded along a vertical line about 13 cm from the right edge and about 17 cm from the left edge and the smaller right portion was laid face down over the left one. At this stage the normal practice would have been to roll the letter up from the bottom, cf. LVIII **3932** introd., but in this case it appears from the patterns of damage and dirt that the top and bottom edges were brought to the middle and the package was pressed flat. Then a binding was tied round it and on the other side, where the surface was not interrupted by the meeting edges, the address was written in two lines, one long one straddling the binding and another below the right half of the first, to the right of a design inked over the binding.

μὴ θελήσης μηδεμίαν φροντίδα{ν} ἔχειν περὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ἀδελφῆς Μαρίας, σοῦ δὲ  
 συμβίου. οὐκ ἐοῦμεν γάρ, τοῦ θεοῦ θέλοντος, αὐτὴν δεηθῆναί τινος, οὔτε ἐγνοῦμεν  
 ποιῆσαι αὐτῇ πρᾶγμα. καθὼς δὲ γέγραφας περὶ τοῦ κοκκηροῦ ἴμα[[τα]]τίου, δέδωκα[. ]  
 μὲν αὐτῇ, παρεγενάμην δὲ πρὸς τὸν σὸν γεοῦχον θέλον λαβεῖν ἓνα χρύσειον  
 5 ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ ὀψωνίου, ποιήσας αὐτῷ {ποιήσας αὐτῷ} καὶ ιδιόχειρον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἠνέσχετό μοι

δοῦναι. μικρὸν δὲ γλωσσοκωμίον καταξίωσον ἀγοράσαι τῇ ἀδελφῇ σου Φοιβαδία καὶ τέσσερα  
κτένια τῶν γερδενῶν. εἰ δὲ δυνήθης ἀγοράσαι ἑνὸς γράμματος σιδῆριν μαδίων, μὴ ὀκνήσῃς τοῦτο  
ποιῆσαι. ἐπέτρεψέν με δὲ Ἀβραάμιος ὁ σὸς πενθερὸς γράψαι σοι ὥστε εἰ λάβῃς χρυσίον ἀπὸ τοῦ {γ.}  
γεούχου σου, συνωνήσασθαι αὐτῷ ἑνὸς χρύσινον ἀσκαλώνια. πολλὰ δὲ προσαγορεύομεν ἀπὸ  
10 μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου{ς} τὴν σὴν διάθεσιν καὶ ὑγιαίνομεν σὺν θεῷ.

Back, along the fibres:

ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ δεξπότη ἀδελφ(ῶ) Θεοδοσίῳ πρ. . .  
(design) π(αρά) . . . . . ἀδελφ(οῦ).

2 1. ἐῶμεν, ἐννοοῦμεν      3 ἴμα[[τα]]τιου      4 1. θέλων      5 ἰδιοχειρον      6 1. γλωσσοκομείον,  
τέσσερα      7 1. γερδιαινῶν, σιδῆρειον μαζίον      8 1. μοι      9 1. χρυσίνου      11 ἐπίδς, ἀδελφ  
12 π', ἀδελφ

'Please have no anxiety about Mary, our sister and your wife, for we will not allow her to want for anything, God willing, nor do we intend to make trouble for her. As you have written about the vermilion cloak, I have(?) given (it) to her, but I went to your landlord wanting to get one solidus out of your salary, after making him an autograph receipt of course, and he could not bring himself to give me anything. Please buy a small box for your sister Phoebadia and four combs for women weavers. If you can buy a cake of iron for one gram (of gold), do not hesitate to do it. Your father-in-law Abraham has commissioned me to write to you that, if you get gold from your landlord, you should buy Ascalonian jars to the value of one solidus for him. Young and old, we give your kindness many greetings and we are well, with God's help.'

Address: 'Deliver to my lord brother Theodosius (?), steward (?) from ... his brother.'

1 φροντίδα{ν}. For the superfluous nasal see **4004** 10 n.

2 ἐῶμεν (1. ἐῶμεν). For confusion of ου and ω see **4003** 3-4 n. para. 2.

3 κοκκηροῦ. The form κοκκηρός is much rarer than κόκκινος, but it is reasonable to presume that both refer to dye made from the bodies of insects of the genus Coccidae (κόκκοι), of which there are various types, see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* iv 100-106; cf. S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedik* 271 for more references. Until recently it was known only from Diocletian's price edict 24. 8, preserved only in Greek: πορφύρας Νεικαηνῆς (or Νεικαϊνῆς) κοκκηράς, which makes it clear that with the basic red pigment dyers could achieve shades which were considered to be purple. Since then it has also appeared several times in CPR VIII 65, quoted in **4004** 14 n., as well as here. Although we cannot know the shade of colour, perhaps 'vermilion' is the best English translation, because its derivation from *vermis* makes clear the fact that we are dealing with a red dye made from insect bodies.

3-4 Besides the confused cancellation at the end of the line there is a slight doubt whether we should read and punctuate differently, as δεδώκαμεν αὐτῇ. παρεγενάμην δὲ κτλ., '... we have given (it) to her. I went ...'. This would separate the delivery of the cloak from the next sentence. The text as printed implies that the attempt to get money from the sender's landlord is connected with the cloak; perhaps the sender was buying the cloak for Mary, and wanted the money to come from the salary which was due to him, but the landlord refused to disburse money on the writer's written receipt. 'Your landlord' is slightly misleading in English; it seems that the sender was not a tenant farmer but a salaried employee of the landowner, cf. 5 n.

4 θέλον (1. θέλων). For confusion of omicron and omega see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 275-7, cf. 6 γλωσσοκωμίον = γλωσσοκομείον, 7 μαδίων = μαζίον.

5 ὀψωνίου. On the salary of a προνοητής, if that is what Theodosius was, cf. 11-12 n., see LV **3804** 154 n.

ἠνέχετο. On the double augment in this verb, which is classical, see *LSJ* s.v. ἀνέχω, F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 254, B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 123 (§267. 2). Expressions with οὐ or another negative, plus ἀνέχεσθαι, plus infinitive, are common in Byzantine letters on papyrus, see also *LSJ* s.v. ἀνέχω C. II 5c.

6 γλωσσοκομίων (l. γλωσσοκομείον). Cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 443-4 (= *TAPA* 98 (1967) 517-8), 453. This was originally a specialized container used by musicians to hold the reeds belonging to the αὐλός, an instrument of the oboe family. The reeds were called γλώσσαι, 'tongues', perhaps because of their shape, as *LSJ* implies, perhaps also because they enabled the instrument to 'speak'. The name of the container came to be used of any box or chest.

Φοιβαδία. This feminine version of Phoebadius (cf. P. Ross.-Georg. V 28. 2, P. Giss. I 55. 6) appears to be new.

τέσσαρα (l. τέσσαρα). Cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 190-191.

7 κτένια τῶν γερθενῶν (l. γερδιαινῶν). On weaver's combs, used at intervals during the process to beat the weft more firmly into place, see H. Blümner, *Technologie*<sup>2</sup> i 159-160; *LSJ* s.v. κτείς seems to be wrong on this point. It is not clear why women weavers are specified, except that in this case the combs are to be bought for a woman. Compare XXXI 2599 4-5 πέμψον ἡμῖν δύο κτενεῖν γερθενεῖν; the vulgar spelling is implicitly regularized to κτένια γερδιακά in the note. This too concerns women, since the writer was a woman, so we should perhaps understand κτένια γερδιαινῶν. We might timidly suggest that male weavers used heavier combs.

The form γερθενῶν shows, as well as the common equivalence of epsilon with αι, see Gignac i 192-3, a vowel loss which is unusual in that it is not followed by a back vowel, but cf. op. cit. 304. b 2 ἀρχερεῦς, τριακόσαι.

ἐνὸς γράμματος (sc. χρυσοῦ). It is not certain what it means to specify a price in terms of gold bullion, cf. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 138-9. One *gramma* is equivalent to one quarter of a *solidus*, but there was no gold coin of this size. Most probably it refers to the equivalent in the subsidiary base-metal coinage, which changed as the value of gold rose. A rare parallel to this usage is SB XVI 12397 (from *CE* 57 (1982) 114-7), a letter in which the writer complains that he has paid too much for an old camel and her foal, to wit, five *solidi* and one *gramma* for the mother and four *solidi* less one *gramma* for the foal. The total price was nine *solidi*, so that there was no practical difficulty over the payment. It is fairly clear that in this case too γράμμα is an accounting term, not a description of a physical reality.

σιδήριν μαδίων (l. σιδήρειον μαζίων). Cf. P. Nephros 8. 9-10 (συνωνήσατο 6-7) ... καὶ σιδή[ρ]ου μαζίων ἐν μυ[ών] τριῶν μυριάδων εἴκοσι, 'he bought in ... and a cake of iron weighing three minas for twenty myriads of denarii'. The note there cites P. Ross.-Georg. III 6. 6 and especially J. Gascou, 'Sur le mot μαρία dans la tablette du Louvre AF 6715', *ZPE* 60 (1985) 254-8. Note that in XXXIV 2729 15 μαδια = μαζία was wrongly interpreted as μάτια, the μάτιον being a measure of volume equivalent to one tenth of an artaba, which is unsuitable to the context. Read now κόμισον ... σιδήρα κενδ(ηνάρια) β' τέως, ἔχωντες τὰ β' μαδία μή, i.e. σιδήρεια κεντ(ηνάρια) β' τέως, ἔχοντα τὰ β' μαζία μή, '... 2 hundredweight of iron so far, the 2 containing 48 cakes'. The price of them is 1,200 myriads (corrected in *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 206), i.e. 25 myriads for the average cake, weighing  $4\frac{1}{8}$  Roman pounds. The price is roughly comparable with P. Neph. 8. 9-10, where the cake costing 20 myriads weighs three minas, which is just over three Roman pounds if *μνά* retains its traditional meaning, but it is perhaps likely that it was used colloquially as the exact equivalent of λίτρα, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 267-8. The proportionate rate would be 18 myriads rather than 20, but both texts must be fairly near in date, in the region of AD 350.

8 {γ.}. The ink after gamma was presumably to have been epsilon, to make the first syllable of the next word, γεούχου. This first attempt seems to have been abandoned, without stopping to strike out the superfluous writing.

9 For ἀσκαλώνια cf. LVI 3862 25 n. One *solidus* would probably have bought two or three hundred empty jars, cf. e.g. LVIII 3942, where three *solidi* buy one thousand ordinary jars from a potter plus a few unusual sizes. Probably we should imagine that these were full of wine. Even so this would imply quite a large amount, perhaps thirty or forty jars, cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 179-180. Of course any exactitude is out of our reach, since we have no information about the capacity of the jars or the quality of the postulated wine.

10 ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου{c}. Cf. 4006 10. This is a commonplace in the Septuagint and the New Testament, cf. G. H. Karlsson, H. M. Machler, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 291 (8-9 n.), M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* p. 367, note to ll. 16-17.

τὴν εἰς διάθεσιν. Strictly speaking διάθεσις, 'disposition, attitude', requires an adjective, such as φιλική, μητρική, 'friendly, motherly', to give any meaning in this sort of context, but it became so routine as a title of address, meaning just 'you', that the adjective was felt to be superfluous, cf. M. Naldini, *Cristianesimo* p. 222, note to l. 23.



11-12 Dirt and abrasion, as well as blotting, have made this address very difficult to read, cf. introd. It looks as if Theodosius, if that is his name, was given a title, possibly beginning with *πρ*-. Since we know he was the salaried employee of a landowner, cf. 3-4, 5 nn., it may be permissible to guess that this was *προνοητής*, the steward of an area of an estate, for which see LV 3804 introd.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4006. CHRISTOPHER TO THEODORUS

6 1B.17/II(b)

35 × 17.5 cm

Sixth/seventh century

The recipient was a *comes* and the *μειζότερος* or major domo of the household of an Apion (11-12). As a mark of respect the sender gives him the epithet *θεοφύλακτος*, 'God-defended', which occurs late and is particularly common in the papyri of the Arab period from Apollonopolis Ano, cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 17. Consequently Apion here ought to be Flavius Apion III, who appears first in sole charge of his estates in AD 593 and died between July 619 and early January 620, see LVIII 3939 4-5 n. This date range suits the large and flowing, very professional, script.

This was the third letter sent by Christopher asking Theodorus to send him a *καρταλάμιον* (*καρδ*- pap.), which was probably an elaborate belt, perhaps an item of military uniform, see 4 n. He gave details of the dispatch of the two previous letters and renewed the request for the object to be sent to him by the bearer of this third one. The rest is greetings, to Theodorus, to 'our common mistress', most probably Theodorus' wife, to a *magnificentissimus* Faustus, who is also 'our common brother', and to all the household. The address on the back is unusually detailed and informative.

The letter is written *transversa charta*, see 4005 introd. A sheet join, overlapping downwards, runs horizontally through line 7, showing that the long lines run across the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. The letter was rolled up from the foot and squashed flat to make a long narrow package, the exposed flap was tucked inside for protection and then the address was written along the package next to that flap. A space was left in the middle of the first line of the address at the point where there was usually a binding, but the second line extends beneath it, so that any binding would have obscured at least part of the final words.

⊕ τρίτην ταύτην ἐπιστολήν ἔγραψ[α] . . . [.] τ[ὴ] ἐμῶ ἀγαθῶ κ[α]ὶ θεοφυλάκτῳ δεσπό(τη)  
καὶ ἐξ ὧν μίαν μὲν διὰ τοῦ σταβλίτου τοῦ ἀποφέροντος αὐτῇ τὰ δίδυφα, δευτέραν δὲ  
ὁμοίως μετὰ Ἄππα Κύρου τοῦ καθοσιωμένου, καὶ νῦν ταύτην, ὡς εἶπον,  
τρίτ[η]ν χάριν τοῦ καρδαλαμίου, ἵνα πέμψῃτέ μοι, καὶ βάλλω αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν  
5 . . ]λ[.]ν. παρακαλῶ τοῖνυν τοῦτο στείλαί μοι διὰ τοῦ ἀποδιδούτου



αὐτῆ] τὰ εὐτελεῆ μου γράμματα, ὅ[πω]ς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χάριτας αὐτῆ ὁμολογήσω.  
 τ]αῦτα γράψας πλείστα προσκυνῶ καὶ ἀσπάζομαι τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότου  
 ἄ]χρι θέας, ἐξαιρέτως τὴν κοιν[η] ἢ ἄν δέσποιναν. + (vac.)  
 ἐξ] ἐμοῦ δὲ Φαῦστον τὸν μεγαλο(πρεπέστατον) κοινὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς <τοῦ> εὐλογημέ(νου)  
 10 ὑ]μῶν οἴκῳ, ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, ἄχρι θέας. +

Back, along the fibres:

+ οἰκ(εί)ῳ μου + ἀγ(α)θ(ῶ) (καὶ) θεοφυλ(ά)κ(τω) δεσπό(τη) (vac.) Θεοδώρῳ κόμει(τι) μειζ(ο)τ(έρῳ)  
 + Χριστόφορος ὑμέ(τερος)  
 δοῦλο(ς) (καὶ) ἀδελφό(ς).  
 + ἀπόδ(ος) ἐν Ὀξυρρ(ύ)χ(ω?) τῷ ἀγ(α)θ(ῶ) Θεοδ(ώ)ρῳ τῷ μειζ(ο)τ(έρῳ) τοῦ ἐνδό(ξου) οἴκ(ου) Ἀπίωνος.

1 δεσπῶς      2 l. ζίζυφα      3 l. καθωσιωμένον      4 l. καρταλαμίου; ἴνα; l. πέμψηται  
 5 l. ἀποδίδοντος      7 ἴχνη      9 μεγαλῶ, εὐλογημῶς      10 l. οἴκου?      11 οἰκῶν (ου in monogram)  
 + ἀγθθεοφυλῶ/δεσπῶ (vac.) θεοδωρῶ/κομειμειζῶ, υἱῶ      12 + ἀποδ/ενοξυρρτἀγθεοδ/τωμειζ/τῶ (ου in monogram)  
 ἐνδῶ/οικ/απίωνος (vac.) δουλῶ/ἀδελφῶ

'This I write as a third letter ... to my good and God-defended master, and of these (I sent) one by the stable lad who brought you the jujubes, and a second likewise with Appa Cyrus the soldier, and now this one, as I said, a third, on the subject of the sword-belt(?), so that you may send (it) me, and I shall put it ... So I beg you to send it to me by the man who delivers my poor letter to you, so that in this matter too I may acknowledge my thanks to you. In writing this I greatly worship and salute my master's footsteps until we meet; (and) especially (I greet) our common mistress. From me (greet) Faustus, our most magnificent common brother, and all the members of your blessed household, young and old, until we meet.'

Address:

'To my own good and God-defended master Theodorus, *comes*, major domo, Christopher, your slave and brother.'

'Deliver in Oxyrhynchus to the good Theodorus, the major domo of the glorious household of Apion.'

1 The short unread word should be something like *vūn*, ἤδη, ἄρτι, but none of these seems thoroughly suitable, although the third trace is of a doubled descender which might be tau.

τ[ῶ] ἐμῶ ἀγαθῶ κ[α]ὶ θεοφυλάκτῳ δεσπό(τη). Cf. 11, P. Haun. III 52. 41. It might be more satisfactory if we could expand δεσπῶς to δεσπο(τεία) and so provide a definite antecedent for αὐτῆ (2, 6 *bis*) and a third person subject for πέμψητε (l. -ται; 4), but none of the compounds of ἀγαθός seems to be attested in this sort of expression, and φιλαγάθῳ or πανταγάθῳ would have left substantial remains of the descenders of phi and lambda, or tau.

On θεοφυλάκτῳ see introd.

2 καὶ ἐξ ὧν is odd, even if καὶ is 'in fact' rather than 'and'; the reading is clear.

The cross above μίαν is slightly unexpected. However, numerals do often have some sort of distinguishing mark, which in administrative documents of this period is often overlining.

σταβλίτου. The stable 'boy' would probably have been an employee of the *cursus uelox*, see the analysis by J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 53-9, according to which there were no private or domain postal services, but only the state system developed from the earlier form of the *cursus publicus*, still based on compulsory public service, but reflecting the strong influence of the new large landowners.

δίδυφα. The dictionary form ζίζυφον has not yet occurred in the papyri. For confusion of delta and zeta, especially before iota and its phonetic equivalents, such as upsilon, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 75–6. For διδυφ- see also P. Corn. Inv. II, 38 (=SB VIII 9907, from *Rech. Pap* 3 (1964) 32–5). 19–20 διδύφων ἀρτάβης τρίτον ξηρών (AD 388). More frequent is διζυφ-: P. Mich. inv. 3630 (=SB VI 9025, from *AJP* 65 (1944) 251–5 = H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae Posteriores* ii 667–671). 20 διζύφων μ[έ]τρον ἔν (2nd cent.), VI 920 1 διζύφων (ἀρτάβη) α (2nd/3rd cent.), P. Gen. II 117. 6 δίζυφα (3rd cent.). This form also occurs in AP IX 503. 1(?), 2.

On the jujube see Youtie, *op. cit.* 669 (253), citing A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*<sup>1</sup> 390–1 (= 446), cf. L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* i 64–70, 184, and for more literature S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedik* 231 (n. on 6. 56 *zizyforum* (gen. pl.), where the Greek is not preserved). Probably the papyri refer to fruit known in Pharaonic Egypt, produced by the tree *Zizyphus spina Christi*, so Youtie, quoting Lucas, *loc. cit.* On the other hand J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome* 80–81, writes of *Zizyphus vulgaris* Lmk = *Z. jujuba* Mill., and says that it is of Asiatic origin and that it was introduced to Italy from Syria by Sextus Papinius about AD 10, referring to Pliny, *NH* 15. 47, while the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911 ed.), Vol. 15. 546 s.v. jujube, distinguishes *Z. vulgaris* (c. 20 feet, fruit like a plum, Japan to S. Europe), from *Z. jujuba* (30 to 50 feet, China, Malaya, tropical Africa, many varieties, fruit the size of a small filbert). It is noticeable that all the papyri mentioning jujubes are of the Roman period, but this need not be significant in view of the scarcity of the evidence. The *Z. spina Christi* is said to occur widely in modern Egypt, see Keimer 68, 117 (n. 33).

3 Ἄππα Κύρου τοῦ καθοσιωμένου (l. καθωσιωμένον). The title indicates that Appa Cyrus was a soldier or a civil servant of the *militia officialis*, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 18. The ecclesiastical title ἄπ(π)α, 'father', is therefore part of his name, which is a common one in the papyri, making it clear that he was named in honour of a saint or martyr, rather than a Persian king, for example. Two saints called Cyrus, both monks or hermits, are listed by De Lacy O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* 119–120. One of them is still commemorated in the name of Abuqir, near ancient Canopus, because his remains with those of other martyrs were transferred there from the cathedral of Alexandria by St Cyril in the early fifth century, see H. Delehayé, 'Les saints d'Aboukir', *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911) 448–50, cf. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* III, 2 coll. 3216–20 s.v. Cyr et Jean (saints).

Note that ἄπα Cίων, the obscure eponym of many persons called Ἄπα Cίων, has twice recently been attested as a saint by Greek papyri, see CPR IX 68. 3 ἐν ἡμέρ(α) τοῦ ἁγίου ἄπα Cίωνος (5th cent.?), with the editor's new reading of Stud. Pal. III 273 ii 2, which reveals a mention of a monastery named after the same patron (6th cent.), and P. Prag. I 91. 7–8 εὐλογία τοῦ ἁγίου ἄπα Cίωνος (6th cent.). Cf. J. Muysier, 'Notice sur l'identification d'Apa Sion', *Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte* 9 (1943) 79–92, LVIII 3938 12 n.

It is sometimes doubtful whether names beginning with the same three letters belong to the same category, see LV 3804 221 n. on Ἀπανάκιος/Ἄπα Νάκιος, P. Hamb. III 228. 13 n., on Ἀπαcίριος/Ἄπα Cίριος.

4 καρδαλαμίου (l. καρτ-). A form καρδαλαμ- is unknown, but καρταλαμ- does occur and it seems likely that the voiced delta stands for unvoiced tau, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 80–83. The gloss καρταλάμιον *cartalama* (G. Goetz, *CGL* II 339. 17; -ia one ms) is unhelpful, because there is no trace of the word in Latin. Another, *haec fiscella o καρταλαμνος* (*CGL* II 553. 2), probably rests on confusion with κάρταλ(λ)ος, καρτάλλιον, 'basket', which is a frequent gloss for *fiscella*, see *CGL* VI 453 (index s.v.). The only promising clue to the nature of this item is in John Lydus, *de Magistratibus* ii 13 (ed. A. C. Bandy p. 104), on the insignia of the praetorian prefects. He describes an elaborate belt of crimson leather with a fancy buckle which girded the prefect's purple tunic and goes on, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ... βάλτεον τὸν ζωστήρα λέγουσιν, τὴν δὲ ὄλην κατασκευὴν τοῦ περιζώματος οἱ Γάλλοι καρταμέραν, ἣν τὸ πλῆθος καρτάλαμον ἐξ ἰδιωτείας ὀνομάζει, 'the Romans call ... the belt *balteus*, but the Gauls call the entire girdle outfit *cartamera*, which the common people call *cartalamum* out of ignorance'. Du Cange, *Glossarium ... Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis*, s.v. καρταλάμιον, mentions the Latin gloss referred to above and then quotes a virtually incomprehensible passage of medieval Greek, which seems to record the form χαρταλάμιν in a connected sense: Assisae MSS. Regni Hierosolymitani cap. 101 καὶ ζήτα τ(ου?) χανίερι τ(ου?) το λούριν του, καὶ ἐκεῖνος στρέφι τοῦτο καὶ ὄρενατ ἐγλίζη το λούριν του, κέβρος του, οὐ τὸ χαρταλάμιν του τζακιτήν, &c Ubi ου significat *vel*. This seems to be about a belt, λούριν seemingly from Latin *lorus*, cf. Ducange s.v. λουρί.

It seems reasonable to suggest that καρδαλάμιον here is related to καρτάλαμον and that the word in different forms was used of other belts besides the specially distinctive one of the praetorian prefects. It may well have been confined to the belts of military or pseudo-military uniforms, but there is no other indication that Christopher was a soldier or civil servant.

4-5 In late Greek βάλλειν can mean 'wear', see Du Cange s.v. It may be that we should restore [πό]λ[ω] and translate, 'and I shall wear it in the city'. The lambda is virtually certain, but the restoration and the sense are no more than speculative.

5 ἀποδιδόντος. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 383.

6 τὰ εὐτελή μου γράμματα. On the habitual expressions of humility in Byzantine letters see H. Zilliaceus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen* 77-9, esp. 79 on ἡ ἐμὴ εὐτέλεια (cf. P. Michael. 38. 12, VIII 1165 2, 8, XVI 1944 4, L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography* 78-80, 109), which is matched by similar expressions with ταπεινώσις, μετριότης, οὐθένεια, and comparable abstracts in Latin. For the adjective cf. e.g. VIII 2479 3-4 τοῖς διαφέρουσίν μοι εὐτελέσι πράγμασιν, XXVII 2479 22 τὰ εὐτελή μου πράγματα, XVI 1872 6-7 τὰ ... ἀποσταλέντα παρ' ἐμοῦ εὐτελέστατα, P. Apoll. 36. 4, 52. 2 διὰ τοῦ εὐτελοῦς μου γράμματος. For the persistence of such expressions of humility into the late Byzantine period cf. H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz* 93, with 83-84, where figg. 30-32 show the subscriptions of priests to a document of AD 1357, many of which take the form: ὁ εὐτελής ἱερεὺς ... ὑπέγραψα, 'I, the humble priest ... subscribed'.

7 ἕχνη, cf. 4008 2. See H. Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* 86-8 on the progress of the meaning, 'footprint/sole of foot/foot', as well as the use of it in expressions of this kind in Byzantine letters; for similar Coptic expressions cf. A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Briefformular unter Berücksichtigung ägyptischer und griechischer Parallelen* 92, 100.

8 [ᾶ]χρη θέας. Cf. 10, XVI 1860 15, P. Herm. 16. 6.

ἐξαιρέτως τὴν κοιν[η] ἡ'ν δέσπουαν. The language is very elliptical; we feel the need of καί or even καὶ ἀσπάζομαι before ἐξαιρέτως. Similarly in the next sentence we need to understand ἀσπάζου or some similar expression.

Since τοῦ ἐμοῦ δεσπότου just before means 'you', probably 'our common mistress' refers to the wife of Theodorus, although it could refer, for instance, to a lady of the family of his employer Apion.

In κοιν[η] ἡ'ν the first eta was written so hurriedly and incompletely that it seems to merge with the following nu. The second eta was added above the line for clarification.

9 On the decline of the honorific epithet μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, in Latin magnificentissimus, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 28-9, cf. LVI 3870 4 n.

9-10 We need to understand an instruction to greet Faustus, who has not been identified elsewhere, exactly as in XVI 1940 4. For contexts containing the complete instruction cf. XVI 1837 15, 1872 8, 1875 9-10, 1933 11.

πάντας τοὺς <τοῦ> εὐλογημέ(νου) [ὑ]μῶν οἴκῳ (1. οἴκου). Cf. PSI XIII 1345. 14 τοῦ εὐλογημένου 'καὶ ἀφθόνου' ὑμῶν οἴκου.

10 ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου. Cf. 4005 10 n.

11 οἰκ(εῖ)ω. Cf. P. Haun. III 52. 41; XVI 1869 20. In P. Haun. there may perhaps have been a (καί) between ἀγαθ(ῶ) and θεοφ[υλάκτῳ], represented as here simply by the double curve symbol, cf. 1 above and XVI 1944 5-6 παρακαλῶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ θεοφύλακτον δεσπότην.

Θεοδώρω κόμε(τι) μειζ(ο)τ(έρω). The name is so common that no attempt at identification is likely to be reliable, cf. LVI 3871 introd., but XVI 1857 and LVI 3871, also of the late sixth or early seventh century, are addressed to a homonym with the same titles; 3871 itself refers to another Theodorus τοῦ λαμπροτάτου μειζότερου (3). 1849-52, from a similar date range, cf. LVIII 3954 introd., 3957 8 n., are addressed to a Theodorus μειζότερος, without κόμες; 1861 9 refers to Cynopolis and to Θεοδώρω τῷ μειζοτέρω τῷ ἐκεῖ. The Menas who sent 1857, see introd., is thought to be the same as the one who sent 1860 and is described there as *defensor* of Cynopolis. Our letter is addressed specifically to Oxyrhynchus, but the very care with which the address is amplified, see 12 n., may suggest that our Theodorus was not normally to be found in Oxyrhynchus. The Theodorus μειζότερος of XXVII 2480 3, 13, 16, who is probably the same as the one mentioned, but not named, in 6, 68, 102, travelled with *bucellarii* of Cynopolis and probably held his post there, but that account probably relates to AD 565/6, which is too early to be relevant to our letter.

κόμε(τι). Cf. LVI 3871 10 n. for this title in the late period.

μειζ(ο)τ(έρω). Cf. LVI 3871 3 n., LVIII 3960 25 n. Here line 12, μ. τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου), makes it clear that this is a household post, *maior domus*, 'major domo'. Another passage in which the proximity of μειζότερος and τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου positively proves the same is VI 943 3-4.

11-12 Χριστόφορος ὑμέ(τερος) δοῦλο(ς) (καὶ) ἀδελφός(ς). The presence of ἀδελφός(ς) makes it doubly clear that δοῦλο(ς), as often in this period, see I. F. Fikhman, *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologen-*



*kongresses* 119, cf. XLIII 3149 7–8 n., XXVII 2479 2 n., LVI 3870 4 n., is another expression of humility, cf. 6 n. There is no likelihood that Christopher was a slave.

12 + ἀπόδ(ος) ... Ἀπίωνος. This section of the address is in a smaller and less formal style. It could be by a second hand, but there is no very obvious difference in the colour of the ink or the thickness of the pen. In any case it is unusual to find anything so specific in such addresses; it may have been necessary because Oxyrhynchus was not the place where this Theodorus was usually to be found, cf. 11 n.

Ἵξυρρ(ύγ)χ(ω?). There is no persuasive parallel for double rho in the name of Oxyrhynchus, although it would seem to be correct by Attic or Atticistic standards, so that the reading is at this point very doubtful, but the traces and the spacing seem to favour -υρρ- over simple -υρ-. The other point of doubt is the ending, but this is the period at which the bare name Ἵξύρρυγχοc began to be used of the city, cf. LVI 3860 9–10 n., 4002 22, and it seems unlikely that Ἵξυρρ(ύγ)χ(ων πόλει) was really intended here.

μειζ(ο)τ(έρω) τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκ(ου). Cf. 11 n.

Ἀπίωνος. Probably Flavius Apion III, see introd.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4007. JULIUS TO CYRIACUS

4 1B.63/D(a)

30 × 14 cm

Sixth/seventh century

Cyriacus is described in the address as ἐπιτρ(όπω) and receives the honorific title and epithet of θαυμασιότης (5, 6) and θαυμασιώτατος (14). It seems unlikely that he was the guardian of Julius, whose tone of command may allow that Cyriacus was his agent, *procurator*, but another possibility is that ἐπίτροπος is the title of some minor official or semi-official post, see 14 n. Reference is made to a *patricius*, who may well have been a great landowner, see 8 n., but it is not clear whether the transactions in grain and money that are mentioned are private or estate business. A large hole affecting lines 5–7 is particularly damaging to the run of the sense. Two παῖδες who are involved with the carriage of grain might well be estate servants or slaves, see 2 n.

The writer made use of a piece of papyrus which had already been used on both sides, washing off the previous ink not very effectively, although it has not been possible to read the earlier writing. Under the letter and seemingly upside down to it are the rather pale remains of a few lines of a large Byzantine cursive. On the back the address consists of only one line, but there are extensive washed out remains of cursive writing in at least two directions and some other traces which look more like pen trials than proper writing, cf. H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht* p. 25, Taf. 1. It seems clear that all this was washed over before the address was written.

In spite of the untidy state of the papyrus the letter is written in a well practised and not excessively careless sloping Byzantine cursive, probably of the late sixth or seventh century. It was written *transversa charta*, see 4005 introd., as is shown by a sheet-join, overlapping downwards, running horizontally very close to the bottom edge. For dispatch the letter was rolled up from the foot and squashed flat; then the exposed edge was tucked inside for protection and the address was written along the



panel next to that fold. A space was left at the middle of the address for a binding and when that was in place a simple design of three horizontal strokes was inked across it. The removal of the binding has removed the middles of the strokes.

( )  
 † κατέλαβεν τὰ ἐνταῦθα Ἄμμων ὁ παῖς φέρων εἰκοσιπέντε ἀρτάβας  
 ζίτου τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ κυρίου Παμουθίου. μεταδέδωκεν δέ μοι ὡς ὅτι  
 τὰ δύο ὀλοκόττινα τὰ ἀντιφωνηθέντα μοι παρὰ τῆς σῆς  
 5 θαυμασιότητος ἀπαιτήθησαν εἰς τὴν κ[ . . . . . ] ν καὶ καλῶς ἐποίησέν σου  
 ἢ θαυμασιότης συγχωρήσασα αὐτοὺς δ[ . . . . . ]σαι ἔχοντες πλέον ὑπὲρ  
 πέρυσι τριάκοντα κεράτια . . . . [ . . . . ] , καί, θεὸς οἶδεν ὁ μόνος,  
 εἰ ἐγενάμην κατὰ τὸν πατρίκιον, οὐκ ἐδυνόμην προτέλεια <ν> τῶ  
 10 ἐνὸς κερατίου δοῦναι. εἶπε δὲ Ἀπολλῶ τῷ παιδί ὅτι, 'τὸ ὑπόλοιπο[ν  
 τῆς κριθῆς πέμψον μοι', ἐπεὶ, θεὸς οἶδεν ὁ πάντων δεσπότης,  
 ἐὰν συμβῆ ἴμὲ ἐλθεῖν, τετραπλᾶ αὐτὸν ἀπαιτῶ. καὶ λοιπὸν μετὰ καλοῦ  
 δὸς ἢ τὸ ἴσον τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ζίτου πέμψον μοι ἵνα μανθάνων γράψω σοι  
 δοῦναι Θεοδώρῳ καὶ ᾧτινι . . . . . †

Back, along the fibres:

+ ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ τὰ πά(ντα) θαυμασ(ιωτάτω) Κυριακῶ (design) ἐπιτρ(όπω) (vac.) π(αρά) Ἰουλίου. †

3 ὡς: ζ corr.      4 ολοκοτ' τινα      5 l. ἀπητήθησαν; τήν: ἡ corr.      6 l. ἔχοντας      12 ἵνα  
 14 ἐπιδ[σ]τωτ[π]θαυμασ., ἐπιτρ[σ] (vac.) π'

'Ammon the "boy" arrived in these parts bringing twenty-five artabas of wheat by the measure of the lord Pamuthius, and he informed me that the two gold *solidi* which were guaranteed me by your Excellency were exacted for the . . . , and your Excellency did well to permit that they should . . . , for they have a surplus in respect of last year of thirty carats . . . , and—the One God knows—if I had gone to the *patricius*, I could not have given an advance of even the one carat! Say to Apollos the "boy", "Send me the remainder of the barley", since,—God, who is master of all things, knows—if it turns out that I come, I will exact four times the amount from him! And furthermore make delivery properly or send me the duplicate of the account of the grain(?), so that when I have the information I may write to you to make delivery to Theodorus and to whomsoever . . .'

Address:

'Deliver to the most excellent in all respects Cyriacus, warden(?), from Julius.'

1 ( ). This is the mysterious sign often transcribed as π(αρά), which is frequently found at the head of late Byzantine letters in this format, see LVI **3867** 1 n. In this case the writer began his letter proper a little too high and therefore wrote straight through the sign, so that it interferes with the reading of παῖς. It seems clear from the character of the ink that it belongs to the letter and not to the earlier writing which was washed out, see introd.

2 κατέλαβεν τὰ ἐνταῦθα. Cf. LI **3637** 2 n.

Ἄμμων ὁ παῖς. Cf. 9 Ἀπολλῶ τῷ παιδί, P. Hamb. III 228. 11 Πέτρος καὶ Μηνᾶς οἱ παῖδες; 229. 2 Πέτρος ὁ παῖς. It is doubtful whether these 'boys' were free men or slaves, since there is a perennial problem about the meaning and associations of the words παῖς, παιδίον, παιδάριον. These two, to judge from their names,

could perhaps fall into the category of the *παιδάρια Αἰγύπτια* on the Apion estates, on whom see LVIII 3960 28 n. It was tentatively suggested there that those were slaves, because of an implication in the preceding entry in the account, which by referring to *παραμονάριοι ἐλεύθεροι* suggests that there were slaves of the Apion household from whom the free contracted servants had to be distinguished in the context of that account.

3 *ζίτου*. By this late date *ζίτος* usually means 'wheat', rather than 'grain' in general, see especially H. Cadell, *Akten d. XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 61–8, esp. 64–5, and some specific meaning is probably needed here. A doubt arises below in 12, where the request for a copy of the account of *ζίτος* seems to be associated with the demand in 9–10 for the delivery of a quantity of barley. Unless appearances are misleading, in that passage *ζίτος* does have its earlier and more general meaning.

*τῷ μέτρῳ τοῦ κυρίου Παμουθίου*. Various men called 'lord' Pamuthius appear, for instance, in I 128 1 (VI/VII), 142 3 (AD 534), cf. 143 1 (AD 535), XVI 1842 6 (VI), 1871 8 (V), but the name is so common that no reliable identification can be made. For private measures cf. D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 13–21.

*ὡς ὄτι*. Cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>15</sup> 326 (§396 Anm. 6).

4 *ἀντιφωνηθέντα*, 'guaranteed'. Strictly speaking this is a term of Byzantine law. A glossary, G. Goetz, CGL II 230, 56–7, gives *ἀντιφωνῶ constituo*, *ἀντιφώνησις pecunia constituta*, cf. M. Gdz. 269, A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* s.vv. *constitutum debiti alieni*, *receptum argentarii*, J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 198; one Latin version of the title of Justinian, *Novella* 4 gives *constitutae pecuniae reos* in place of the Greek *ἀντιφωνητῶν*, which occurs in I 136 (= W. Chr. 383). 39 in a waiver of this *Novella*. The phrasing here should mean that the two *solidi* were owed by the writer, but that the recipient had undertaken to pay the debt as guarantor and that the money had been demanded and paid. It is unfortunate that the damage in line 5 seems to have removed the word or words which would have explained the transfer of the money, and that the next two lines, which may well be continuing on the same subject, are equally seriously damaged.

4–5 *τῆς ἐῆς θαυμασιότητος*, cf. 5–6 *σου ἢ θαυμασιότης*, 14 *τῷ τὰ πά(ν)τα θαυμασ(ιωτάτῳ)*. Cf. LVI 3869 14: the title and epithet are usually associated with some fairly modest official rank, cf. 14 n.

7 After *κεράτια* it might be just possible to read and restore *δημ[οσίῳ ζυγ]ῷ*, 'by the public standard', cf. LV 3805 7–8 n., although the transition from eta to mu is not easy to accept and the space might be a little too long.

*θεὸς οἶδεν ὁ μόνος* is a rare turn of phrase, cf. BGU IV 1035. 12, P. Hamb. III 228. 8 and n, 229. 8.

8 *ἐγενάμην*. Cf. 3988 4 n.

*πατρίκιον*. The patriciate indicated very high rank and was probably still conferred by imperial grant at this period, cf. LVIII 3939 4–5 n., para. 3. This person is likely to have been one of the great landlords of Egypt and may well have been the patron and employer of both the correspondents. The Apion family spring to mind, although the late patrician John, for instance, of PSI I 76. 2, cf. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 193, was a landlord in the Oxyrhynchus area contemporaneously with the Apions and not yet obviously connected with them.

*οὐκ ἔδυνόμην*. For omission of *ἄν* in the apodosis of an unreal past conditional sentence cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>15</sup> 290–1 (§360 and Anm. 2).

On the thematic form see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 75 n. 2. Here *ἔδυνόμην* is perfectly clear and so provides a little more support for so reading the very damaged word in XVI 1854 6.

*προτέλεια(ν)*. On the omission of final nasals see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111–114.

This passage does nothing to help us out of difficulty over the meaning of *προτέλεια*, on which see CPR V 25, 9 n.; add new references CPR VI 6. 15, IX 34. 5. According to A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 273, 315, it may sometimes be connected with tax payments in advance. A basic meaning of advance payment is discernible, but it is not clear how *προτέλεια* might differ from *πρόχρεια*, on which see LVIII 3943 9 n.

9 *παιδί*. Cf. 2 n.

10 It looks as if *μοι* refers illogically to the sender, although in this passage of direct speech it should strictly refer to the recipient.

*θεὸς οἶδεν ὁ πάντων δεσπότης*. Cf. SB VI 9107. 3 *ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης φυλάξει* (= -ξη) ..., possibly also 8986. 13 *τ]οῦ πάντων δεσπότητος κυμπράξαντας* (*sic*: l. -τος?) [

11 *μετὰ καλοῦ*. Cf. P. Berl. Zill. 14. 17, P. Ross-Georg. V 11<sup>3</sup> 5, P. Köln V 240. 7, XVI 1855 16 and n., on the naturalization of the phrase in Coptic, e.g. W. E. Crum, *Koptische Rechtsurkunden* 66. 32, 67. 46, 76. 29 (references kindly supplied by Dr Mark Smith.)

12 *είτου*. Cf. 3 n.

13 After *ᾧτωι* we expect something like *θέλει*, or *θέλεις*, or *βούλει* or *αἴρη*, but nothing that has been thought of will fit the traces, although it is probable that a good guess could be verified.

14 *ἐπιτρο(ό)πω*. It does not look likely that Cyriacus was the guardian of Julius, although it is not quite out of the question. Judging by the tone of command Cyriacus could have been the agent, *procurator*, of Julius, but it may be that he was in charge of some particular institution, cf. the *ἐπίτροπος τοῦ ξενοδοχ(ε)ίου*, 'warden of the hostel', in XVI 2058 131. The use of *ἐπίτροπος/procurator* as the title of a high Roman official probably does not last beyond the fifth century, e.g. XVI 1973 5 *ἐπιτρόπω τῆς θειοτάτης οἰκίας*, AD 420.

H. G. IOANNIDOU

#### 4008. TO JOHN, *VICE-DOMINUS*

63 6B.64/E(1-2)a

33 × 11 cm

Sixth/seventh century

This letter was intended to accompany a fish, which was to be delivered, probably as a gift, to a great landowner's representative on his Oxyrhynchite estates, an *ἀντιγεοῦχος*. It was written on behalf of some estate servants described as *παιδάρια*, a term of debated meaning which may imply that they were slaves, see 4007 2 n.

The writer's sloping cursive has a professional look, but his spelling is phonetic, e.g. *πρωτων* for *πρώτων* (2), *δίποτε* for *τίποτε* (5). The masculine article instead of the feminine in *κατὰ τὸν ὄψιν* (5) looks like an oversight and so does the double accusative after *προσκυνομεν* (for *προσκυνοῦμεν* 2). The mixture of respectable appearance and low level of literacy is what we might expect on the working fringes of high society.

The earliest datable *ἀντιγεοῦχος* is probably the unnamed one mentioned repeatedly in XXVII 2480 48, 51-3, 55, 57, 59, probably of AD 566, and the term appears in a Coptic papyrus of the Arab period from Aphrodito, P. Lond. IV 1529. 7. A date in the late sixth or early seventh century would be suitable for this document.

The letter is written *transversa charta*, see 4005 introd. para. 3, as is shown by a sheet-join, overlapping downwards, running horizontally very close to the lower edge. For despatch the letter was rolled up from the foot, the exposed edge was tucked inside for protection, and the address was written along the panel nearest that last fold. A gap was left at the middle of the address for a binding, over which a design was inked once it was in place. Traces of the design survive now that the binding has disappeared.

+ χμγ

+ *πρωτων μὲν πολλὰ προσκυνομεν τὰ ἴχνη τὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν δεσπότην.  
παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, δέσποτα, κελεύσατε δέξασθαι τὸ μικρὸν  
5 *ξιμάριον εἰς λόγον τῶν παιδαρίων ὑμῶν. οἶδαμεν γάρ, δέσποτα,  
ὅτι οὐκ εὐρίσκομεν δίποτε κατὰ τὸν ὄψιν ὑμῶν, + δέσποτα. +**



Back, along the fibres:

+ τῶ ἡμῶν ἀγα[θ(ῶ)?] δεσπότη(η) κυρ(ίω) Ἰωάννη (design) ἰλλουστρ(ίω) (καὶ) ἀντιγεούχ... π...  
7 (vac.) ...[.]... ὑμετερ(.). †.

2 1. πρῶτον, προσκυνούμεν; ἴχνη; 1. τοῦ ἡμῶν ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότη 3 ὑμας: corr. (from ὑμῶν?)  
4 1. κιμάριον; ὑμων 5 1. τίποτε, τήν; ὑμων 6 ἀγαθ?, δεσποτςκυρς, ἰλλουστρ/ς 7 υμετερ/?

'Firstly we kiss the feet of our good lord. We beg you, lord, give orders to accept the little *simarium* (a fish) to the credit of your "boys". For we know, lord, that we cannot find anything worthy of your dignity, lord.'

Address:

'To our good master, lord John, *uir illustris* and representative of the landlord, ... your ...'

1 χμγ. After a voluminous amount of commentary this common Christian symbol remains without an entirely satisfactory explanation, cf. LVI 3862 1 n.

2 προσκυνούμεν (l. -οῦμεν). Since the writer spells παρακαλοῦμεν (3) correctly, it is perhaps more likely that the upsilon is omitted accidentally than that omicron was pronounced indistinguishably from ου, although similar spellings are known elsewhere, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 211-12.

ἴχνη. Cf. 4006 7 n. He probably intended to write προσκυνούμεν τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ ἡμῶν ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότη, but he forgot τὰ ἴχνη and proceeded, as if he had not mentioned them, with τὸν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν (l. -θόν) δεσπότην in the accusative. In a more pretentious writer we might have accepted τὰ ἴχνη as 'accusative of respect', but that seems less likely in this badly spelled letter.

3 ὑμας, κελεύσατε, cf. ὑμῶν 4, 5. For the use of the *pluralis reverentiae* in private letters on papyrus see H. Zilliaceus, *Selbstgefühl und Servilität, Studien zum unregelmässigen Numerusgebrauch im Griechischen* 71-8.

3-4 τὸ μικρὸν κιμάριον (= -άριον). Cf. XVI 1857 1, where κιμάριον recurs along with the Nile fish ἀλάβης, and is presumably a diminutive form, cf. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 88, referring to the Nile fish *cimoc* listed by Athenaeus, *Deipnosoph.*, VII 88 (= 312a), cf. D'Arcy W. Thompson, *JEA* 14 (1928) 32. Oppian, *Hal.*, I 170, mentions *cimoi* among Mediterranean fish which inhabit both rocky and sandy areas and Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* ii 14 (ed. Teubn. p. 132. 10), describes these as a kind of tunny and says that they had no scales. Xenocrates, *περὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνύδρων τροφῆς* XXXVI (J. L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci* i p. 133), mentions them: τῶν δὲ ποταμίων καὶ λιμναίων ταρίχων φέρει μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος κητώδεις *cimoc* τε καὶ φάγρους. The name is taken to be from the Greek adjective *cimós*, 'snub-nosed'. The meaning of κητώδης is not clear; it could mean just that they were big, or it could denote some resemblance to whales, or perhaps dolphins, which are also described as *cimoi*, cf. D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* 53, where it is pointed out that in this case 'pug-nosed' is meant rather than 'snub-nosed'.

The variously shaped snouts of very many fish could be described as *cimós*, but it may be that *cimoc* and *κιμάριον* were deliberately chosen with particular reference to the *ὀξύρ(ρ)υγχος*, 'the sharp-snouted fish', a name which probably covers both *Mormyrus caschive* and *M. kannume*, see G. A. Boulenger, *Zoology of Egypt: The Fishes of the Nile* i 68, cf. ii Pl. XII, and it may be, therefore, that they refer to another of the mormyrs. Members of the Mormyridae family have snouts in a startling variety of shapes; some could very well be described as flat-nosed. The best contrast is perhaps provided by *Hyperopisus bebe*, as is shown vividly by the small diagrams of oxyrhynchus and *H. bebe* juxtaposed in I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* 29, Abb. 5, 6. A detailed scientific account and the best illustration of *H. bebe* are given by Boulenger, op. cit. i 70-73, ii Pl. V. 2. Douglas J. Brewer and Renée F. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* 53, provide a shorter account with two photographs of fish represented in relief from the Tomb of Mereruka (Saqqara, Dynasty VI), which they tentatively identify as *H. bebe*.

It is clear from the two letters that the *κιμάριον* was regarded as being specially good to eat: in 1857 one was part of a consignment of fish sent for the feast of Epiphany (τὴν [παν]ήγγυρι τῶν θεοφανίων 4-5); here it is a present to the ἀντιγεοῦχος, the most important local representative of a magnate who owned an estate, cf. 6 n. According to Boulenger on *H. bebe*, op. cit. i 73, 'The flesh is, like that of other Mormyrs,



much esteemed in Senegambia; but this does not appear to be the case in Egypt at present, although Sonnini, the first describer of this species, at the close of the 18th century, found it firm and delicate'.

It may be reasonably suspected that this one was not all that small; one *σιμάριον* plus five *ἀλάβητες* weighed seventy Roman pounds, c. 22.5 kilos, in **1857** 1-2, an average of 3.75 kilos per fish. The humble protestations about the inadequacy of its size and about its unworthiness as a gift to the distinguished recipient are required by the conventions of the Byzantine epistolary style.

4 *παιδαρίων*. Cf. **4007** 2 n., on the doubt about the free or servile status of people described as *παῖς* or *παιδάριον*.

*οἶδαμεν*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 410-11.

5 *δίποτε* (l. *τίποτε*). Cf. LVI **3870** 5 and n., on the same form.

For *τίποτε*, 'anything', see F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* 251 (§303).

*ᾄψιν*. Cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. *ᾄψις* (5) for the meaning 'position, dignity'.

6 *Ἰωάννη*. No *ἀντιγεοῦχος* of this name is known. A photograph shows that *Ζαρμάτη ἀντιγε(οῦ)χ(ω)* of XVI **1861** 11 does not conceal him, and the reading there remains not improbable. In XXIV **2420** 5-6 instead of *διὰ Πουφ* [read *διὰ σοῦ Φ[λαουῖου]* name, plus e.g. *τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου* (cf. LVI **3871** 6 n.)] *ἀντιγεοῦχου*; the person may have been Flavius Victor, cf. LVIII **3957** 8 n.

*ἰλλουστρ(ί)ω*. On the origin and early history of the honorific adjective *illustris* see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 528-30, 535-6. On its development and use in the papyri as an substantival title, as here, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 17, cf. 9 citing XVI **1859** 8, **1860** 6 for the combination *ἰλλούστριος καὶ ἀντιγεοῦχος*.

*ἀντιγεοῦχ . .* This looks more like the foot of the double curve abbreviation sign than like an omega, i.e. read probably *ἀντιγεοῦχ(ω)*. On the post see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 85-6, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 789-90. It is the highest executive office in the hierarchy of estate administration, cf. LVI **3871** 6 n.

6-7 We might expect *παιδάρια*, cf. 4, among the traces in the worst damaged area, but they have not been found.

7 *ὑμέτερο(ι) or -(ων)* appears, unusually, to be the last word: sc. *δοῦλοι (δούλων)*? Cf. XVI **1936** 18.

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# INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or *Suppl.* The article is not indexed.

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Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι Αὐτοκράτορες (year 6)  
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 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ [ (oath formula) [**3975**  
 11-13]

#### GORDIAN III

Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Γορδιανός Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (oath  
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Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γάιος Μέσσιος Κονῆτος Τραϊανός  
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#### GALLIENUS

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Γαλλιηνός Σεβαστός (year 14) **3979**  
 20-21

#### GALERIUS

No titulature (year 20 = 311/12; posthumous) **3982**  
 10-11

#### CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS

No titulature (year 7, 5 = 312/13) **3982** 12

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 AD 314 ὑπατείας Ρουφίου Οὐλοουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου Ἀννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων **3982** 16-17 **3983** 1 (ὑπατεία κτλ), 12, 16  
 AD 340 ὑπατείας Σεπτιμίου Ἀκινδύνου τ[οῦ λαμ(προτάτου)] ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Ποπου[λωνίου] Πρόκλου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) **3984** 1-3

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 13th. (474/5) **3985** 7, 10

2nd. (493/4) **3986** 5  
 10th. (531/2?) **3987** 1  
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Τῦβι **3991** 30

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 26 March 314 **3983** 16-17  
 5 May 314 **3982** 16-17

7 May 314 **3983** 1, 12  
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 8 March 494 **3986** 2-4  
 21 March 532? **3987** 1

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Ἄγαθος: Aur. Agathus **3982** 19-20

Ἀθανάσιος **4003** 1

Ἀθανάσιος, βοηθός **4002** 10

Αἴλιος Θεών **3992** 1, 34

Ἀκινδυνος *see* Index IV s.v. AD 340

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Ἀλέξανδρος: Aur. Alexander, decaprotus **3980** 3

Ἀλέξανδρος: Aur. Alexander, former hypomnematographus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **[3980]** 1

Ἀλέξανδρος, ὀθονιακός **3979** 16-17

Ἀμάτοκος, f. of Aur. Psenamunis comarch of Phobōu **3982** 3 **3983** 3

Ἄμμων, παῖς **4007** 2

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 ριος, Ἡρακλείδης, Ἡρων, Θεόδωρος, Θέων, Ἰκάκ,  
 Ἰωάννης, Μουνάτιος, Νεχθερώεις, Πεκῦσις,  
 Πρώταρχος, Σαραπίων, Σερῆνος, Στρατόνικος,  
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- Σερήνος: Aur. Sarapion alias Serenus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome **3982** 1, 22 **3983** 2, 6, [11]  
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 Ἀρκαδία **3986** 11  
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 Ὀξυρυγχίτης (νομός) **3975** 8 (**3976** 2, 11) (**3977** 3)  
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 Σέφθα **3979** 12  
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ἱερόν **3993** 19-20

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**4005** 2, 10 **4007** 7 (θ. ὁ μόνος), 10 (θ. ὁ πάντων  
δεσπότης)

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χμγ **3986** 1 **4008** 1

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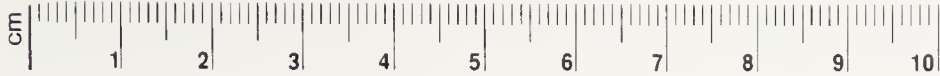
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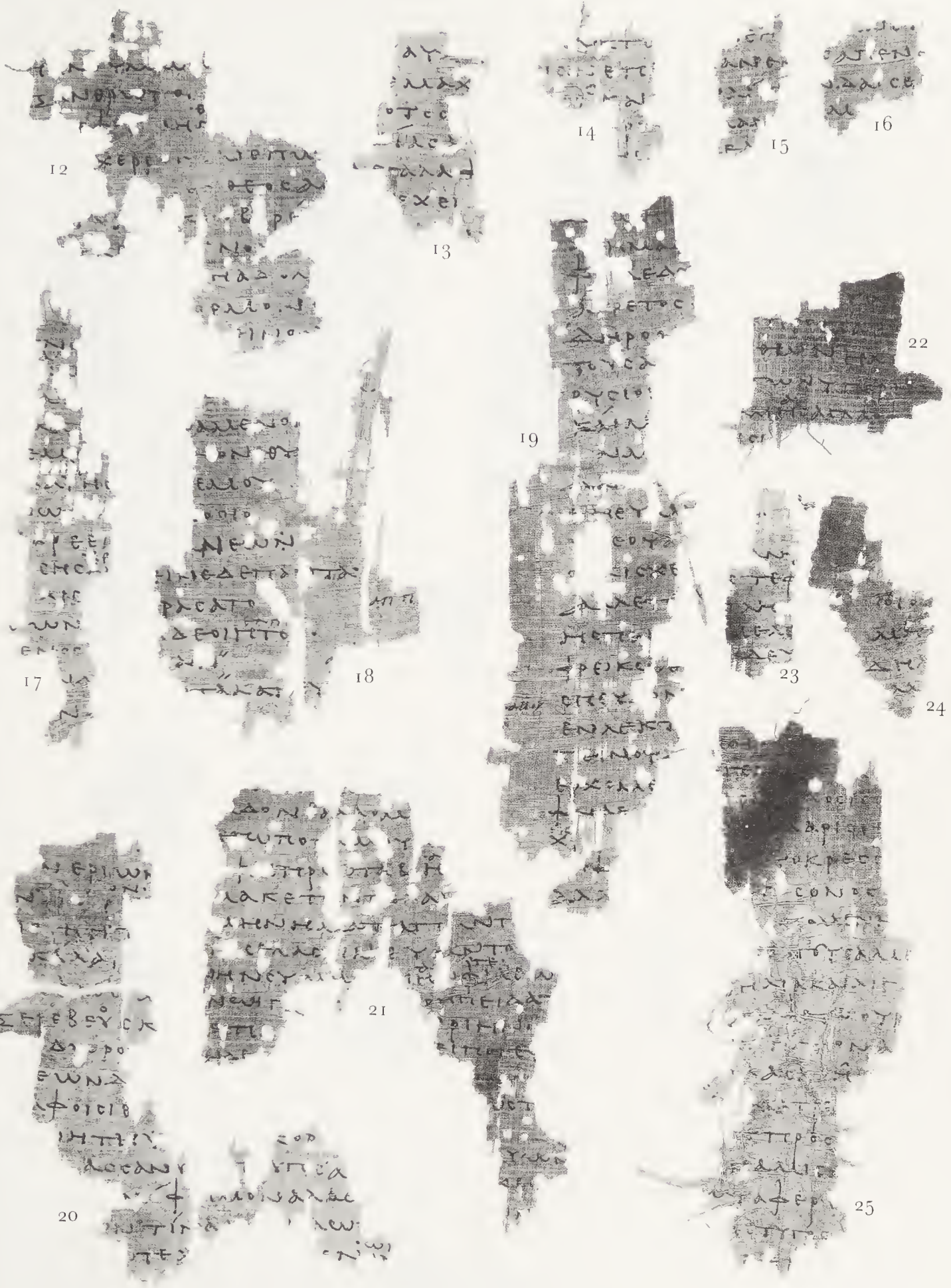
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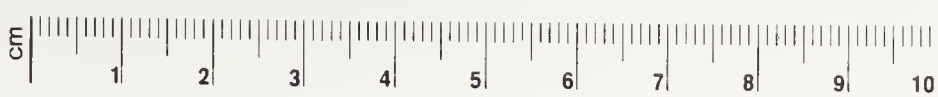
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180  
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 ΤΑ ΟΟΟΟΟ  
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 26 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
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27 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
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34 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
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41 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
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42 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
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43 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
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44 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
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45 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
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46 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ

47 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ  
 ΟΥΤΑΙΝΙΟΕ









[Fragment 3972: Faded Greek text, likely a portion of a larger inscription. Legible parts include:]  
 ΑΥΤΟΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
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 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ

3972

[Fragment 3970: Faded Greek text, likely a portion of a larger inscription. Legible parts include:]  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
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 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ

3970

[Fragment 3969: Faded Greek text, likely a portion of a larger inscription. Legible parts include:]  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
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 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ  
 ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΥΚΑΝΤΩΝ

3969 fr. 1

[Fragment 3971: Small, faint Greek text fragment]

fr. 2

[Fragment 3972: Small, faint Greek text fragment]

fr. 3

[Fragment 3973: Small, faint Greek text fragment]

fr. 4







Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing approximately 15 lines of handwritten script.

3978

Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing approximately 15 lines of handwritten script. The text is more legible than the fragment on the left.

3986

Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing approximately 5 lines of handwritten script.

3977

Fragment of ancient Greek text, showing approximately 5 lines of handwritten script.

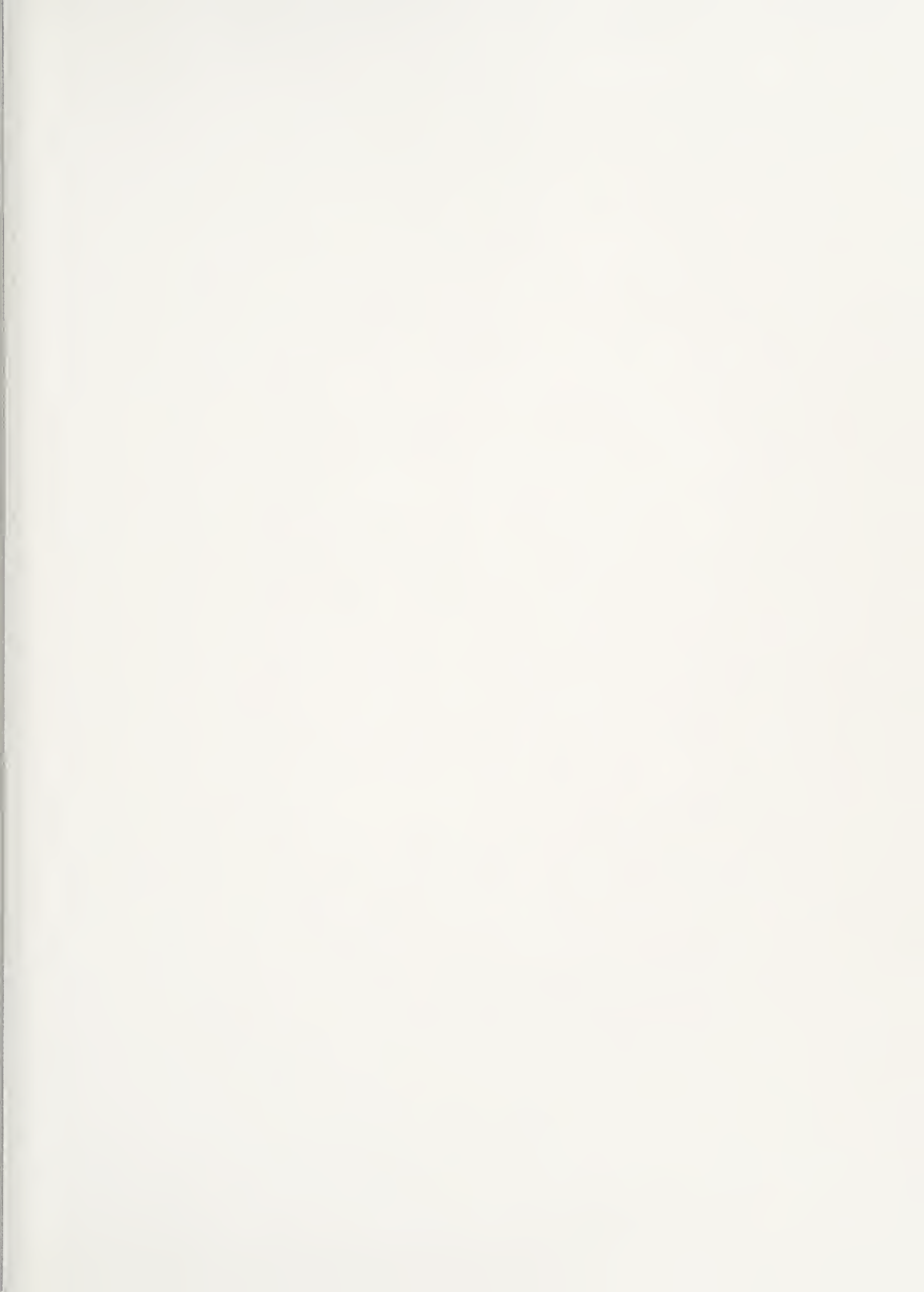
3984





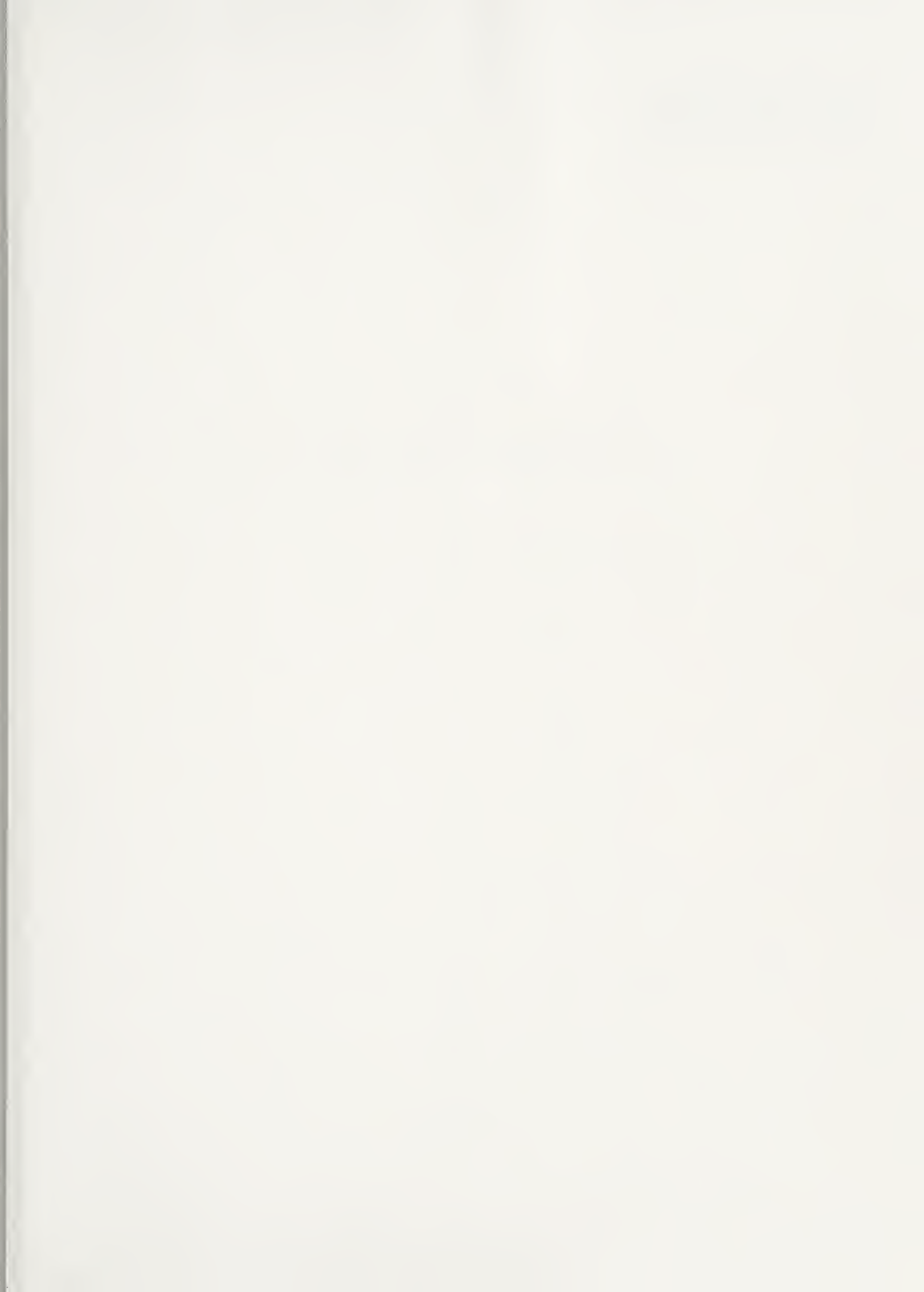






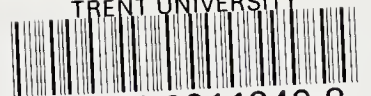






**DATE DUE / DATE DE RETOUR**

TRENT UNIVERSITY



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